
THE CONNECTICUT MUTUAL LIFE REPORT on American Values in the '80s:

The Impact of Belief

CONDUCTED BY RESEARCH AND FORECASTS, INC.
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PREFACE

We are a life insurance organization and individual life means a lot to us -- not only actuarially, but in terms of one's quality of life. Individual opinions also mean a lot to us. In order to uncover key values in a new decade, we decided to pursue a major undertaking -- a nationwide survey -- to probe for the basic beliefs and core values of a diverse cross sampling of Americans.

We believed that learning more about the desires, expectations and judgments of individuals in America today would provide us with useful insights about how people make decisions and how people ascribe values to their actions and aspirations. But, we realized that Connecticut Mutual was in no position to speak for America. So, we commissioned a study on American values in the '80s "to let America speak for itself." We plan to use the information developed from this survey to better prepare ourselves to deal with the critical issues of the future. Our hope is that others who read this survey will also benefit from it.

From the outset, the goal of this study was to go beyond a mere recitation of America's most important and most deeply felt values. Rather, we were interested in determining why Americans feel the way they do by examining what factors contribute to their feelings about their personal relationships, their work, their religious commitment, life in their communities, and participation or lack of participation in our political system.

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In addition, we wanted to discover to what extent the public and their leaders hold similar views and attitudes. Consequently, the study in part explores the attitudes and behavior of nine different leadership groups.

Some of what America had to say for itself surprised us. Some of what America had to say concerned us. Some of what America had to say made us feel confident that we are still a nation of individuals who have retained the idealism and promise of our founding fathers.

Edward B. Bates, Chairman

Denis F. Mullane, President

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

The Connecticut Mutual Life Report on American Values in the '80s:

The Impact of Belief was initiated as a broad survey intent on investigating the extent to which traditional American values have remained prevalent in contemporary society. The study additionally sought to identify the beliefs and attitudes of leaders, and to compare them to those of the public.

This study, however, goes far beyond simply identifying the values likely to assume significance in the coming decades. Rather, it also explores the foundations which support belief in American values. What factors affect and predict the way Americans feel about themselves and about the society in which we live? And to what extent are our leaders in harmony with the public?

In order to identify the foundations of contemporary American values, the impact of traditional explanatory factors, such as age, gender, race, education and income were analyzed. Age, for example, was found to positively affect a number of American values and behavior, including community involvement (older Americans are more likely than younger Americans to vote, attend community meetings, etc.). Similarly, although to a lesser extent, one's education, occupational status, political orientation, income, and place of residence also affect certain attitudes.

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Yet in investigating major aspects of American life -- community involvement, political and moral beliefs, personal relationships, and work -- time and again, systematic analysis led to the one factor that consistently and dramatically affects the values and behavior of Americans. This factor is level of religious commitment.* The initial intention of this study was not to prepare a report on the impact of religion on American life, but the pattern of responses was compelling.

It is widely accepted that political-religious groups such as the Moral Majority and the Christian Voice were a significant force in recent Congressional and Presidential elections. But no evidence has yet been collected that systematically documents the origins, popularity and consequences of their striking appeal to moral and religious participation in political affairs. The Connecticut Mutual Life Report discovers that the impact of religious belief reaches far beyond the realm of politics, and has penetrated virtually every dimension of American experience. This force is rapidly becoming a more powerful factor in American life than whether someone is liberal or conservative, male or female, young or old, or a blue-collar or white-collar worker.

*The measure of religious commitment used throughout this report goes beyond participation in organized religion. Rather, it is based on a sophisticated scale composed of eight items: feeling that God loves you, engaging in prayer, attending religious services, reading the Bible, having a religious experience, participating in a church social activity, encouraging others to turn to religion, and listening to religious broadcasts.

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This report identifies a cohesive and powerful group of Americans, approximately 45 million strong,* as "intensely religious," and demonstrates that religious Americans are likely to vote often and to become highly involved in their local communities. As a consequence, the effect of this group is spreading across the nation. These Americans have been able to inject religious and moral issues directly into political discourse, extending their influence far beyond that which their numerical strength alone would suggest. The Connecticut Mutual Life Report investigates in detail the characteristics and impact of this religious and related moral current.

This study also identifies a large pool of Americans of all ages who can be considered "latently" religious, and therefore susceptible to a call to faith. Approximately three out of every four U.S. citizens describe themselves as religious and say that religion would become a more important factor in their lives if they knew they had only six months to live. Our findings suggest that the increasing impact of religion on our social and political institutions may be only the beginning of a trend that could change the face of America.

Evidence for growing involvement of morality in politics is abundant. Organized political-religious groups demand that candidates take clear positions on moral issues. They seek to defeat specific candidates who are not considered sufficiently moralistic on selected issues, and even promote single issue candidates for office.

*The 10% of the population identified as "highest" in their religious commitment, and the 16% identified as "high," combine to total 26% of the 174 million Americans 14 years and older (Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census), or approximately 45 million people.

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This development is in striking contrast with one of the characteristics of early American religious practice. Writing in the 1830s, the French philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville noted that the fragmentation of American religion into innumerable sects prevented it from developing a preeminent authority. A religion could only be destroyed, he believed, by involvement in the shifting currents of political controversy. Tocqueville considered the American doctrine that exalted separation of church and state a healthy buffer, allowing religion to flourish relatively isolated from controversy.

To characterize the growing visibility of religion today as a completely new phenomenon, however, is to overlook several striking continuities in America's cultural-religious tradition. As Americans we hold ambivalent feelings, and engage in paradoxical behavior, concerning the role of religion in our private and political lives. On the one hand, the doctrine of separation of church and state is deeply imbedded in our national heritage. On the other hand, religion has always been a powerful force in the private and public lives of Americans. Religious commitment, for example, was one of the most dominant characteristics of American colonists and immigrants in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In Democracy in America, based on visits to the United States in the 1830s, de Tocqueville observed that:

America is still the place where the Christian religion has kept the greatest real power over men's souls... The religious atmosphere of the country was the first thing that struck me on arrival in the United States. The longer I stayed in the country, the more conscious I became of the important political consequences resulting from this novel situation.*

*Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy In America. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1966.

This dramatic role of religion in America apparent to de Tocqueville as an outsider in the 1830s is equally evident to the objective observer today. In a 1976 international Gallup poll conducted for the Charles F. Kettering Foundation, the United States was found to be more religious than any other industrialized country in the world. According to the poll, 56% of adult Americans consider religion to be very important to them, compared with 27% of Western Europeans.

As a legacy of our religious traditions, ground swells of religious moralism have periodically emerged in American politics. In the mid to late nineteenth century, for example, religion had injected moral issues into our political dialogue. The abolition of slavery, prohibition, blue laws, and teaching the Bible in the classroom had become the leading political issues of the day. As a consequence of the Industrial Revolution, however, economic and social issues, affected by class and progressivism, suddenly overrode all other questions. But the possibility of moral issues finding political expression remains a recurrent theme in American politics. Indeed, The Connecticut Mutual Life Report finds that today it is once again moral issues that have, via religion, vaulted to the forefront of the political dialogue, and suggests that this reawakening of moral activism carries a special significance as the United States enters the eighties.

Introduction

Disillusion With Leaders

As we celebrated the Bicentennial in 1976, Americans registered a sobering disaffection with traditional political institutions and leadership. Whatever our degree of private cynicism, we learned publicly, after the Bay of Pigs, that presidents could lie to us on matters of supreme importance to our survival. President Johnson's subsequent justification for the deployment of U.S. Marines to the Dominican Republic in 1965 was challenged in our own press, an unusual event. The Tet Offensive in Vietnam in 1968, the publication of the Pentagon Papers, Watergate, and the impeachment proceedings against former President Nixon, produced a level of disillusionment rarely witnessed in American history.

Numerous articles and opinion polls have documented this widespread alienation from political institutions. Indeed, this survey demonstrates that there is a dramatic gap between leaders and the public in a number of respects. They disagree strongly, for example, on moral, political and family issues. They are also dramatically different in terms of their level of religious commitment, their community involvement, and their attitudes toward work.

Our diminished national self-confidence, however, takes on special foreboding in the context of a condition readily apparent as we enter the eighties: an economy in trouble. It is this special combination of political turmoil and economic decline that makes the swelling support for traditional values, as well as its spillover into direct political action, so compelling as a contemporary concern. Something unusual is happening.

A Search for Equilibrium

The growing impact of religious belief is the product of far more, however, than a reaction to the alienation and confusion of the 1960s and 1970s. Modern religious commitment is far more than a temporary fad or response to recent events. It represents something more profound.

Although rooted in the purposes many American ancestors espoused in deciding to immigrate here, the continued significance of religious man owes itself less to the immediacies of Watergate than to the uncertainties and dilemmas of modern existence in a society saturated with choices.

We live in a relentlessly egalitarian society that encourages self-interest and mobility of all types, including geographical and hierarchical. One reason so many people may cling to religion in the United States is that it provides some measure of order in their lives, some restraint on the cultural injunction to pursue happiness, or in some cases hedonism, to its farther limits. One recent in-depth case study, for example, suggests that Americans regard religion as a code of conduct, without which "there would be no reason not to sin and their lives would fall apart."*

*Theodore Caplow, Howard M. Bahr, and Bruce A. Chadwick, "Piety in Middletown," Society (January/February, 1981), pg. 37.

Introduction

If religion in America today is used as a major resource employed to restore some kind of "equilibrium" in everyday activities and belief, then finding that religion is both significant in the lives of Americans and increasingly enmeshed in partisan politics takes on special significance in the current decade. As the most media and advertising rich nation in the world, the United States seems to present its citizens with every choice available to human imagination. So many opportunities and choices are accessible -- from different consumer products to mobility to changing one's marital status -- that it is not irrational for Americans to consider themselves overwhelmed by freedom. Beyond the vicissitudes of wars and presidential politics lie long-term shifts in the mental maps citizens use to orient their personal and public decisions. If almost every encounter with news media, authorities and even family members is viewed as an opportunity to choose, to exercise options, then every encounter brims with uncertainty and ambiguity.

The reemergence of America's religious strain therefore represents far more than a recent response to national concern about Vietnam and Watergate. It symbolizes nothing less than a determined effort to revitalize essential American self-confidence in the face of adversity, an enduring optimism and faith that have sustained so many newcomers to this land for so many centuries. As Daniel Bell said in 1976:

In the past, human societies have been prepared for calamity by the anchorages that were rooted in experience yet provided some transtemporal conception of reality. Traditionally, this anchorage was religion...the new anchorages have proved illusory and the old ones have become submerged.... What holds one to reality if one's secular system of meanings proves to be an illusion? I will risk an unfashionable answer -- the return in Western society of some conception of religion.*

The Connecticut Mutual Life Report confirms that, bewildered by the confusion of the present, large numbers of citizens now find solace in the firm convictions of their ancestors.

*Daniel Bell, The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism, New York: Basic Books, 1976, pp. 28-29.

Overview

OVERVIEW

The Connecticut Mutual Life Report on American Values in the '80s:

The Impact of Belief reveals that it is the level of our religious commitment which, in the early part of the eighties, is a stronger determinant of our values than whether we are rich or poor, young or old, male or female, Black or White, liberal or conservative. The influence of religious belief pervades our activities in the home, the community and the workplace, as well as our attitudes on social and political issues. Concurrent with the pervasive influence of religious commitment, the report also documents a growing emphasis on the moral aspects of public issues and leadership.

Although the survey's clear and compelling pattern of responses determined its focus, this report also highlights other shifting patterns of values beyond the emerging significance of religious commitment. It is, however, the theme of religious belief which weaves together the chapters of this report and provides the focus of this brief overview.

Religious Belief in America

This study measures for the first time in a national survey the degree of religious commitment manifested by Americans and its impact on American lifestyles. While previous studies primarily have presented figures on church attendance, our data show that these figures do not tell the entire story. We find, for example, that although less than half the public (44%) attend church frequently, three-quarters (74%) consider themselves to be religious.

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An equal number (73%) say they frequently feel that God loves them, and nearly all Americans (94%) say they experience this feeling at least occasionally. Over half (57%) the public report that they frequently engage in prayer.

By constructing a multi-item index based on how frequently respondents engage in religious activities and experience religious feelings, this study measures the depth of an individual's religious commitment. We find that while religion is an important part of the lives of most Americans, about one out of every four (26%) of those 14 years old and over can be termed "highly religious." As shall be demonstrated, the attitudes and activities of these 45 million Americans give them a social and political significance extending beyond their numerical strength.

In analyzing who the most intensely religious Americans are, we discover that age is the foremost explanatory factor. The report notes, for example, that only one-sixth of Americans 14 to 34 are highly religious, compared with close to half (46%) of those 65 and over. Further analysis suggests that older Americans are not more religious by virtue of being brought up in a more religious environment, but rather that it is a "life cycle" effect, and a growing sense of one's own mortality, that strengthens one's commitment to religion.

Furthermore:

- ° Southerners are twice as likely as Northerners to be highly religious (35% versus 17%), while people from the Midwest and West fall between these two extremes (28% and 22% respectively).

- ° Blacks are far more likely to be highly religious than Whites (42% versus 25%).
- ° Women are more inclined than men to be highly religious (34% versus 19%).
- ° Those with lower, rather than higher, incomes are more likely to be highly religious (33% versus 19%).
- ° Those with lower, rather than higher, levels of education are more likely to be highly religious (32% versus 18%).

National Politics and Community Involvement

In our search for the most significant cultural currents in American life, a prime area of investigation was the extent to which Americans believe in the political system and involve themselves in political, as well as social, activities at the community level. Some of the findings are disquieting:

- ° Half of Americans (51%) do not believe that important national problems such as energy shortages, inflation and crime can be solved through traditional American politics.
- ° Half the public (50%) do not believe that the vote is the main thing that determines how the country is run.
- ° Half the populace (48%) do not believe that important decisions on public issues are best left in the hands of our leaders.

In order to determine what factors relate to belief in, or disenchantment with, the political system and involvement at the "grass roots" community level, an extensive demographic analysis was conducted. While sociologists traditionally have believed that factors such as age, income, race and education determine the attitudes and behavior of Americans, this study finds a number of striking differences from the patterns of political disaffection which characterized the sixties and early seventies.

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There is no greater disenchantment with "the system" among the young and the old, Blacks and Whites, men and women, liberals and conservatives, rich and poor. Similarly, many factors which traditionally have been offered as explanations for community involvement do not hold up under analysis: gender, place of residence (large city, small city, etc.), region of the country, race, and levels of income or education have little impact. Age does have an impact, which is a logical reflection of the fact that older individuals are more likely to have a sense of being "settled" and to have established more extensive social attachments within their community.

The one factor which emerges with startling clarity as the key to understanding who are the believers in the system is religious belief:

- ° The most religious Americans are far more likely than the least religious to believe that the vote is the main thing that determines how the country is run (64% versus 32%).
- ° The most religious are much more likely to feel that important decisions on public issues are best left in the hands of our leaders (56% versus 36%).
- ° The most religious are more inclined to believe that major national problems can be solved through traditional American politics (41% versus 30%).

Similarly, the intensity of one's religious commitment is (along with age) the strongest predictor of active community involvement:

- ° The most religious Americans are distinctly more likely than the least religious to vote in local elections (77% versus 49%).
- ° The most religious are far more likely to do volunteer work for a local organization (38% versus 6%).

- ° The most religious are much more likely to attend neighborhood or community meetings (34% versus 5%).

And finally, those who are most committed to religion are more likely than the least religious to frequently feel that they "belong to a community" (83% versus 45%).

These discoveries have vital implications for the politics of the current decade. When one considers that only half the registered voters participated in the most recent national election, it is clear that any factor influencing political participation is significant. The results of this survey demonstrate that religious commitment has an extraordinarily powerful relationship to belief in the vote and to community involvement. Thus, The Connecticut Mutual Life Report in some measure illuminates the political successes of such groups as the Moral Majority, and suggests that it is the intensely religious who may well be the most vocal group in the eighties, just as it was the disenchanted who were the most vocal in the sixties and the seventies.

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The Emergence of Moral Issues

Exploring American attitudes toward a wide range of major contemporary issues, our analysis shows surprisingly few sharp divisions on political issues which have traditionally evoked heated controversy. We find, for example, that there are no vast differences between liberals and conservatives on such issues as whether our involvement in Vietnam was justified, whether the government has too much power over the lives of average citizens, or whether the benefits of nuclear power outweigh the risks.

Such issues also fail to elicit strong differences of opinion between the young and old; men and women; the least and the most affluent; the least and the most educated; Blacks and Whites; the least and the most religious; those living in different regions of the country; and those living in urban, suburban or rural areas.

The controversial issues of today, our data reveal, are moral issues. It is these issues which most clearly divide liberals and conservatives; young and old; rich and poor; Black and White; those in cities and in rural areas; and those living in different regions of the United States.

On these most controversial issues, however, it is again level of religious commitment which is the most influential factor. The strength of the impact of religious intensity is quite dramatic:

- ° The most religious are much more likely than the least religious to believe sex between two single people is morally wrong (74% versus 11%).
- ° The most religious are much more inclined to believe smoking marijuana is morally wrong (87% versus 30%).
- ° The most religious are more likely to find pornographic movies immoral (87% versus 46%).
- ° The most religious are more adamant in considering homosexuality morally wrong (87% versus 54%).

The report observes that while a mere 3% of the public find none of the ten activities included in the survey to be "morally wrong," it is not at all clear that there is indeed a "moral majority" in the nation. In fact, the report reveals that Americans who are strictest in their moral judgments, i.e., who believe that all ten of the activities are morally wrong, are in the minority. This "moral minority" is about a quarter of the population (24%). Clearly, the vast majority of Americans prefer to evaluate each moral issue individually.

Relationships: A Search For Commitment

Americans today seem to value commitment above all else in their relationships. More people, for example, say it is "very important" to go out of their way to help a friend than it is to be with friends (83% versus 69%), while only slightly more than half (56%) the public feel it is very important to make new friends. A commitment to family life is apparent in the responses by a majority of Americans who feel that it is very

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important to share personal feelings with their spouse (79%) and to do things as a family group (74%).

On the other hand, the apparent desire for commitment is contradicted by the finding that we as a nation seem willing to view divorce as a solution to an unhappy marriage: a majority of Americans (56%) say that if they were unhappily married they would be prepared to seek a divorce, as opposed to "reconciling problems at all cost." Analysis reveals that of all demographic factors, level of religious commitment is the only one that is a firm predictor of family attitudes; and we find that among the intensely religious there appears to be commitment without contradiction:

- ° The most religious are far more likely than the least religious to say it is very important to do things as a family group (93% versus 58%).
- ° The most religious are more likely to feel it is important to go out of their way to help friends (89% versus 71%).
- ° The most religious are much more likely to say they would reconcile marital problems at all costs rather than seek divorce (60% versus 33%).

Americans at Work

Overall, Americans express satisfaction with their work. The survey reveals that Americans frequently feel they do their jobs well (91%), feel a sense of dedication to their work (76%), find their work interesting (73%), and believe their work contributes to society (68%).

Remarkably, demographic factors do not distinguish the most satisfied worker from the unsatisfied. Men and women, those with lower or higher levels of education and income, Blacks and Whites, old and young,* and blue-collar and white-collar workers all show striking similarities in their feelings toward their work. Given speculation about the alienation of certain segments of the work force, particularly women and minorities, this is a heartening discovery.

Once again, it is religious commitment which is the strongest predictor of satisfaction and involvement with one's work. Compared to the least religious, we find that:

- The most religious Americans are more likely to feel a sense of dedication to their work (97% versus 66%).
- The most religious are more likely to feel their work contributes to society (91% versus 53%).
- The most religious are more likely to say they would prefer to remain at their present job rather than take another (78% versus 52%).

*When teenagers and those over 64 are removed from the sample.

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Leadership: The Moral Dimension

One of the core issues at the beginning of the eighties has been leadership -- or perhaps more precisely, the perceived lack of leadership. In order to gain insight into the qualities of leadership and the divergences between the public and its leaders, and to show how leadership may be strengthened in the eighties, approximately 1,800 leaders were surveyed within nine key American institutions: business, education, government, law and justice, the military, the news media, religion, science, and voluntary associations.

There does indeed appear to be a crisis of confidence in leadership. Half of the public do not believe that important decisions on public issues should be left to our leaders. Further, when asked to rate today's leaders on a scale of one to ten, 60% of the public give them a score of five or less. And leaders are even harsher in their judgment: 66% of them rate America's leadership today at five or less.

The report documents that this is a two way crisis of confidence. Not only does the public lack confidence in its leaders, fully half the surveyed leaders (50%) believe that the public cannot be relied upon to select the sort of leaders the nation needs. Indeed, 87% of leaders believe that there is an untapped leadership potential in the United States. A third of leaders (33%) name business executives as the occupation where the greatest untapped leadership potential lies, and 25% of leaders mention women.

A clue as to what the public and leaders find most lacking in America's leadership is found when they are asked to choose the leader they least admire in America's past or present. Both leaders and the public resoundingly vote Richard Nixon as their choice for least admired leader, and cite "dishonesty" as the quality they least admire about him. The public and leaders also concur on their second choice, Jimmy Carter, who is cited for his lack of competence and effectiveness. Observing that Jimmy Carter runs a rather distant second to Richard Nixon, the report suggests that while incompetence is seen as bad, it is dishonesty that is unforgivable in the politics of this era.

The importance of this "moral dimension" of leadership is further underscored when the public is asked to name the qualities they seek in a leader for the nation. Far and away, the most frequently mentioned quality is honesty, followed (and not closely) by intelligence. Leaders, the report notes, underestimate the importance of this moral dimension; when asked what they feel the public looks for in a leader, leaders do not cite honesty among their top three choices.

The emerging importance of the moral dimension of leadership offers a striking parallel with the emergence of moral issues as the most controversial issues on the public scene. In examining leaders' views on these issues, the report presents evidence that the gap between the public and its leaders is to some extent a moral gap. We find that across the entire range of moral issues leaders are consistently more liberal in their judgments:

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- ° Leaders are far less likely than the general public to feel homosexuality is morally wrong (42% versus 71%).
- ° Leaders are much less inclined to believe abortion is immoral (36% versus 65%).
- ° Leaders are less likely to believe that smoking marijuana is immoral (33% versus 57%).

The study further discloses that leaders tend to be less religious than the public. Leaders are much less likely than the public to feel that God loves them, for example (54% versus 73%). Because leaders are among the less religious Americans, the study observes that they may be out of touch with the current of faith which appears to be gathering strength among the public in this decade. Such an observation is supported by the finding that it is religious leaders who are chosen by the public as the most admired of the nine leadership groups surveyed.

Indeed, there are some leadership groups that do exhibit a marked resonance with the general public. Religious leaders, and to a lesser extent business executives, consistently express higher degrees of commitment to religion, to their work, to their family, and to their community than do other leadership groups. And in many cases, this commitment, as well as their positions on moral issues, are remarkably similar to those of the general public:

- ° 100% of religious leaders consider themselves religious, but the responses of business executives come closest to those of the general public (80% vs. 74%).
- ° 96% of religious leaders frequently feel that God loves them, but again business executives are most resonant with the general public (70% vs. 73%).

- ° 77% of religious leaders believe that sex between two single people prior to marriage is morally wrong; 38% of business executives and 40% of the general public feel this way.
- ° Religious leaders (60%), the general public (57%), and business executives (48%) are the most likely to believe smoking marijuana is morally wrong.
- ° Religious leaders and the general public are the only groups in which a majority believe that divorce should be made more difficult to obtain (59% and 52%).
- ° Religious leaders and the general public are the only groups in which even a significant minority disapprove of a married woman earning money if she has a husband who is capable of supporting her (12% and 20%).
- ° Religious leaders and business executives are the groups most likely to attend community meetings, to feel they belong to a community, and to hold office in a local organization.
- ° Religious leaders are more likely than any other leadership group to feel that one of the most important rewards of their leadership position is doing something of value for society (80%). Business executives are the least likely to feel this way (52%).

The finding that religious leaders are, more than any other leadership group, in tune with the general public is clearly consistent with the major findings of this report. Religious involvement is by far the most powerful predictor of community and political involvement and concern about the leading political issues of the eighties; and it is religious leaders who parallel this concern and activity. While the majority of leaders are out of touch with the public, especially concerning the tremendously important moral issues, religious leaders are the one group most in a position to lead. Clearly, this has important ramifications concerning the kind of leaders Americans are likely to choose in the latter portion of this century.

Overview

According to most pollsters and analysts, the recent presidential election was "too close to call" right up to the day of the election. In the end, however, the nation saw an overwhelming victory for President Reagan -- a candidate who, our survey suggests, was not elected for his known and admired qualities, but rather, it would appear, because he was successful in sounding a "call to faith" in traditional American values. Perhaps the election was not decided on "issues" in the customary sense but rather by the overriding issue of belief in our established American traditions.

Chapter three demonstrates that moral issues have become the leading political issues. It appears that our society is at a transition point, and that the public may be willing, under almost imperceptible influences, to throw its entire weight behind a leader who strikes the correct "moral" or "reaffirming" tone. This new trend is both heartening and potentially frightening. Since the injection of faith into politics via religion is capable of creating a single powerful voting block, this suggests the opportunity for a truly visionary leader, or a dangerous demagogue, who, by striking the appropriate religious-moral notes, could be swept into a position of awesome power.

Methodological Note

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

A total of 2,018 hour-long telephone interviews with members of the general public were conducted. Of these, 1,610 were selected randomly from the general population. In addition, Blacks, senior citizens (65 years or older), and youths (between the ages of 14 and 20) were oversampled. These oversample interviews were conducted in order to allow statistically reliable conclusions to be drawn concerning how these groups differ from, and are similar to, the rest of the population. The number of Blacks, senior citizens, and youth were weighted down to correspond with their actual distribution within the U.S. population. The number of respondents for most questions therefore totals approximately 1,600.

In addition to the survey of the general public, an eight-page questionnaire was mailed to 4,383 leaders in the following fields: business, law and justice, education, government, military, news media, religion, science, and voluntary associations. Responses from 1,762 leaders were received, representing an extraordinarily high mail response rate from a group of this sort. The responses from the leadership samples are reported separately from those of the general public and can be found in chapters six and seven of this report.

In all, approximately one and a half million bits of information were collected in the survey of the general public, and approximately 900,000 in the survey of leaders. In our analysis of these data, thousands of relationships between different variables (between age, for example, and factors such as frequency of voting, belief that abortion is immoral,

Methodological Note

etc.) were explored before coming to the conclusions documented in this report.

Tables

In order to fully illustrate the dramatic difference between the impact of religious commitment and other factors such as income, education, gender, age, etc., on individual questions throughout this report, tables are presented which break down the responses for each question by all these factors. On each table the simplest way to determine the relative impact of different factors (religious involvement, age, etc.) is to look at the "percent difference" column. The number in this column represents the difference between the highest and lowest percent saying that they "frequently" engage in a particular activity (or "agree" with a particular point of view).

If, for example, 77% of the most religious Americans say they "frequently" vote in local elections compared with 49% of the least religious, the "percent difference" column will read "28%" -- the difference between 77% and 49% (See Table 21). For the purposes of this report, a 10% or greater difference indicates a significant relationship between the question being explored (such as the tendency to vote) and the demographic factors (such as age, income, etc.). On all these tables it is important to note not only which demographic factor has the largest number in the "percent difference" column, but also which "percent difference" numbers are surprisingly low.

Methodological Note

The "percent difference" is calculated in the following manner. For "Level of Religious Commitment," it is the difference between the least and the most religious. For "Age," it is the difference between the two age categories which are least alike on the question being addressed. For "Gender," it is the difference between the responses of men and women. For "Region" it is the difference between the two regions which are least alike. For "Place of Residence" it is the difference between the two categories least alike. For "Race" it is the difference between Blacks and Whites. For "Income" it is the difference between the least and the most affluent. For "Education" it is the difference between the least and the most educated. For "Political Orientation," it is the difference between liberals and conservatives. For "Party Affiliation" it is the difference between Republicans and Democrats. For "Marital Status" it is the difference between those who are single and those married. And for "Occupational Status" it is the difference between the two categories that are least alike.

Chapter One: Religion in America

It was religion that gave birth to the English colonies in America. One must never forget that. In the United States religion is mingled with all the national customs and all those feelings which the word fatherland evokes. For that reason it has peculiar power.

Alexis de Tocqueville, 1840
Democracy in America

We must recognize that the death of God is a historical event: God has died in our time, in our history, in our existence.

Thomas J. J. Altizer, 1965
Professor of Political Theology,
Emory University

Is God dead?

Cover Story, Time Magazine, April, 1966

I am told that tens of thousands of prayer meetings are being held on this day; for that I am deeply grateful. We are a nation under God, and I believe God intended for us to be free. It would be fitting and good, I think, if on each inaugural day in the future years it should be declared a day of prayer.

President Ronald Reagan, 1981
Inaugural Address

CHAPTER ONE
RELIGION IN AMERICA

We live in an era of religious contradiction. On the one hand, public opinion polls document a consistent level of religious belief over the past few years. In 1976, for example, 38% of the American public said that the Bible is the word of God and that it should be taken literally; 42% said that they had attended church in the past seven days. Identical results were obtained in 1980.* Indeed, according to Garry Wills, "Gallup's religious polling over the years is astonishing not for fluctuation, but for stability."**

On the other hand, the influence of religion is perceived to have increased dramatically. One ongoing survey shows that the number of Americans who feel that the effect of religion on national life is increasing has grown from 15% in 1970 to 39% in 1978.*** This perceived increase comes at a time when the most significant organized political-religious group, The Moral Majority, had an operating budget of \$56 million during the 1980 election year, and contributed to the unseating of a half dozen prominent U.S. Senators and innumerable local officials.

* Figures reported by the Gallup Poll, 1976 and 1980.

** "What Religious Revival" by Garry Wills, Psychology Today, April, 1978.

*** Public Opinion, March-May 1979, page 32-3.

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But The Connecticut Mutual Life Report on American Values in the '80s: The Impact of Belief goes far beyond finding a simple increase in the influence of organized religion. Rather, it demonstrates that the level of religious commitment of Americans provides the key to understanding their values and behavior.

Before investigating the impact of religious belief, however, it is important to explore the depth of our involvement in religious practices, to define religious commitment as it is used in this report, and to identify those Americans who are most religious.

Religious Activities

Despite the fact that most Americans do not regularly attend religious services, this survey reveals that religion nevertheless remains an essential part of the lives of most Americans -- and that merely citing church attendance figures may not tell the whole story.

While less than half of all Americans (44%) say they attend church frequently, three out of four Americans (74%) consider themselves religious. Furthermore, 57% of all Americans say they frequently engage in prayer.

Forty-nine percent (49%) of Americans say they have made a personal commitment to Christ which they feel has changed their life, and about one in four report that they frequently read the Bible (28%), participate in church social activities (25%), encourage others to turn to religion (23%), and listen to religious broadcasts (21%).

Table 1: Perceived Religiousness

Do you consider yourself a religious person?

Yes  74%

No  26%

(Number of Respondents) (1594)

Chapter One:
Religion in America

Table 2: Religious Activities and Experiences

How frequently do you do each of the following?

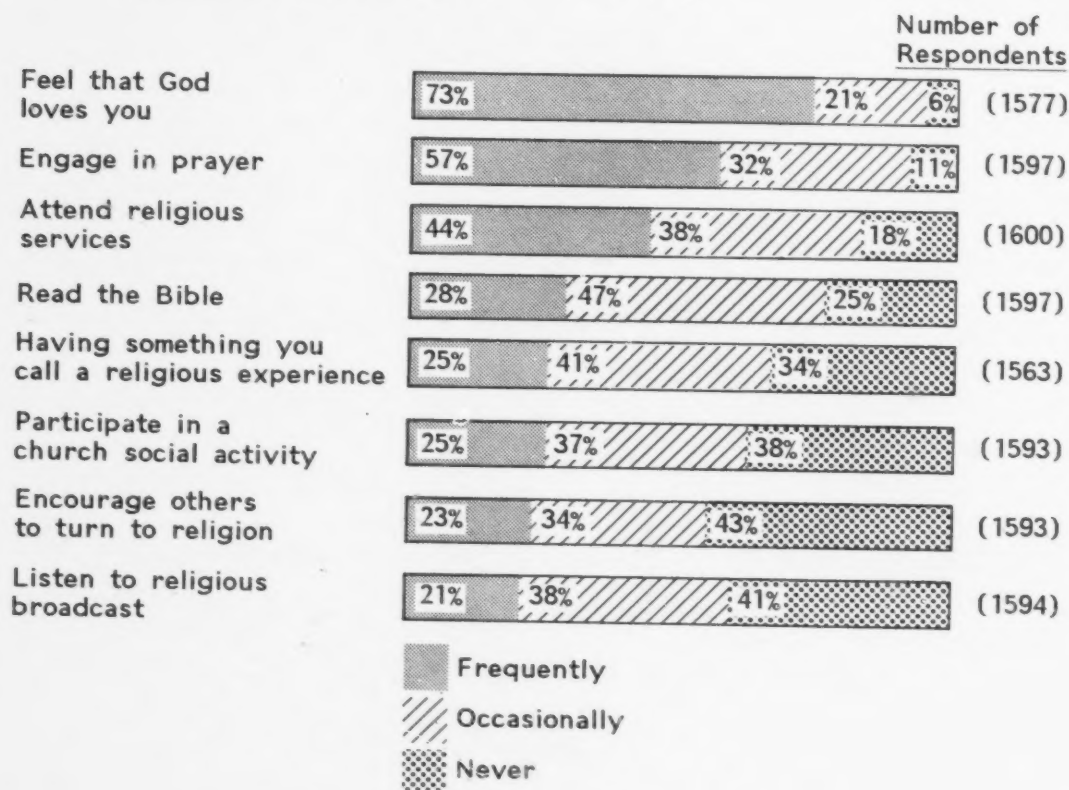
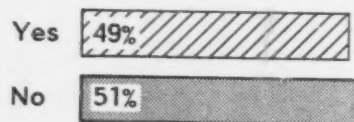


Table 3: Personal Commitment to Christ

Was there ever a specific time in your adult life when you made a personal commitment to Christ that changed your life?

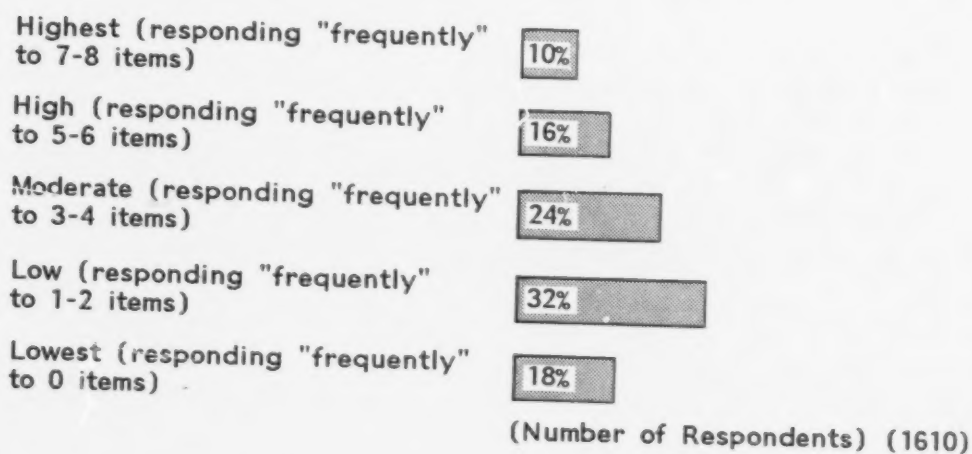


(Number of Respondents) (1594)

Measuring Religious Commitment

In order to present an overall measure of a person's religious involvement, a scale was constructed combining the religious activities and feelings just discussed. Those considered most religious say they "frequently" engage in or experience at least seven of the eight items (see Table 2). Conversely, those who do not respond "frequently" to any of the items are considered the least religious.

Table 4: Scale of Religious Commitment



*This is based on a Guttman Scale. See Methodology for details.

Chapter One: Religion in America

As indicated in Table 4, 26% of the American public over the age of fourteen, representing more than 45 million people, are highly religious.

Religion is clearly a deeply satisfying aspect of the lives of those identified as highly religious. Seventy-eight percent (78%) of those with the highest level of religious commitment say that religion gives them much more satisfaction than other aspects of their lives, compared with only 1% of those with the lowest level of religious commitment.

Table 5: Level of Religious Commitment and Satisfaction Derived From Religion

Relative Satisfaction Received From Religion Compared with Other Aspects of Life	Degree of Religious Commitment				
	<u>Lowest</u> %	<u>Low</u> %	<u>Moderate</u> %	<u>High</u> %	<u>Highest</u> %
Much More	1	16	46	74	78
Somewhat More	17	40	40	24	21
Somewhat Less	43	35	12	2	0
Much Less	39	9	2	0	1
(Number of Respondents)	(275)	(500)	(372)	(255)	(162)

Religious Affiliation and Level of Commitment

The vast majority of Americans consider themselves Christians. Sixty-two percent (62%) of our sample are Protestant and 28% are Catholic. Two percent (2%) of our sample are Jewish. The difference in the religious involvement between Protestants, Catholics and Jews is quite striking. Thirty-three percent (33%) of Protestants are highly involved in religion, compared with 15% of Catholics and 3% of Jews.

Table 6: Religious Affiliation

What is your religion?

Protestant	62%
Catholic	28%
Jewish	2%
Other	4%
None	4%
(Number of Respondents)	(1595)

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Table 7: Religious Affiliation and Level of Religious Commitment

Level of Religious Commitment	Religious Affiliation		
	Protestant %	Catholic %	Jewish* %
Highest	14	4	0
High	19	11	3
Moderate	23	29	16
Low	29	38	30
Lowest	15	18	51
(Number of Respondents)	(993)	(443)	(44)

*The absolute number of Jews included in our sample is too small to permit precise conclusions. The data do suggest, however, that Jews tend to be less involved in religious activities than Protestants or Catholics.

Who Are the Most Committed to Religion?

Table eight documents a dramatic difference between the religious involvement of the young and old. About one-sixth of those Americans between the ages of 14 and 34 are highly involved in religious activities. There is a steady increase in the religious involvement of Americans as they grow older. Forty-six percent (46%) of senior citizens are highly religious.

The next strongest predictor of religious commitment is region. Southerners, who reside in what is traditionally considered part of the Bible Belt, are twice as likely as people living in the Northeast to show high levels of religious participation (35% versus 17%), while people living in the Midwest and West fall between these two extremes (28% and 22%, respectively).

The third most influential factor is race. Blacks are much more likely to have a high degree of religious commitment than Whites (42% versus 25%). This is consistent with the strong role the Black church has always played in the Black community in America. Many of the most prominent leaders of the Black community, most notably Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., have been clergymen, and it is no coincidence that one of the most respected and influential Black organizations in America is the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Another key factor determining religious involvement is gender. One-third of women (34%) are among the most religiously committed, compared with only one-fifth of men (19%).

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And finally, social advantage has an important impact on religious commitment. The less advantaged are markedly more inclined to participate frequently in religious activities and experiences than are the more advantaged. About one-third (32%) of those who have not graduated from high school are among the most highly involved in religion, for example, compared with one-fifth (18%) of those with more than a high school education. Similarly, one-third (33%) of Americans with incomes under \$12,000 are among the most religious, compared with only one-fifth (19%) of those with annual incomes over \$25,000.

Table 8: Level of Religious Commitment Among Various Demographic Groups

	"Highest" or "High" Level of Religious Commitment %	Percent Difference*
<u>Age</u>		
14-20	17	
21-24	15	29
25-34	18	
35-49	27	
50-64	35	
65 and over	46	
<u>Region</u>		
Northeast	17	
West	22	18
Midwest	28	
South	35	
<u>Race</u>		
White	25	17
Black	42	
<u>Gender</u>		
Male	19	15
Female	34	
<u>Income Level</u>		
Under \$12,000	33	
\$12,000-\$25,000	25	15
Above \$25,000	18	
<u>Educational Level</u>		
11th Grade or Less	32	
High School Graduate	28	13
Some College and Beyond	19	
<u>Location</u>		
Large City	20	
Suburb	20	12
Small City	32	
Rural	32	

*See Methodological Note at front of this report for discussion of percent difference column.

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Age: Life Cycle or Generation Gap?

The data suggest that the reason older Americans are highly religious is not so much that they were raised in a more religious environment than today's younger generations. Rather, our findings suggest that it is life cycle, i.e. a sense of one's own mortality, that appears to be strengthening religious commitment. While Americans say that they derive far less satisfaction from religion than they do from their relationships with their immediate family or intimate companion, when asked how they would restructure their lives if they had only six months to live religion becomes an equally important factor. And it is middle-aged and younger Americans who respond most strongly to this question. About three of every four Americans in every age group under fifty say religion would become more important to them if they knew they had only six months to live, compared with approximately half of those over the age of 64. Older Americans seem to have already faced their own mortality.

Further evidence of this "mortality theory" is the fact that in 1948, 94% of Americans said that they believed in God, and this figure has remained constant for thirty-two years. Similarly, in 1958, 68% of Americans believed in life after death, compared with 69% in 1975.*

*"What Religious Revival" by Garry Wills, Psychology Today, April, 1978.

The fact that religion would increase in importance for many Americans -- including the young -- if they had only six months to live, suggests that religion is a latent force in America today. In other words, while religion may be dormant, it is potentially an extremely powerful force.

Many sociologists, especially in the 1960s, perceived an abandonment of "belief" and of religion by America's youth. The finding that even young people say that religion would become more important to them if they had six months to live contradicts this notion. Indeed, 42% of even those Americans with the lowest level of religious commitment, and 71% of those with a "low" level, would increase the importance of religion in their lives if they had only six months to live. Future chapters will demonstrate that not only is religion a latent force in America, it is also a tremendously powerful force, having an impact on virtually every aspect of American life. This combination of existing power and numerical potential quite obviously has profound ramifications for America's future.

Table 9: Satisfaction Derived From Various Aspects of Life

How much satisfaction do you derive from each of the following compared to other aspects of your life?

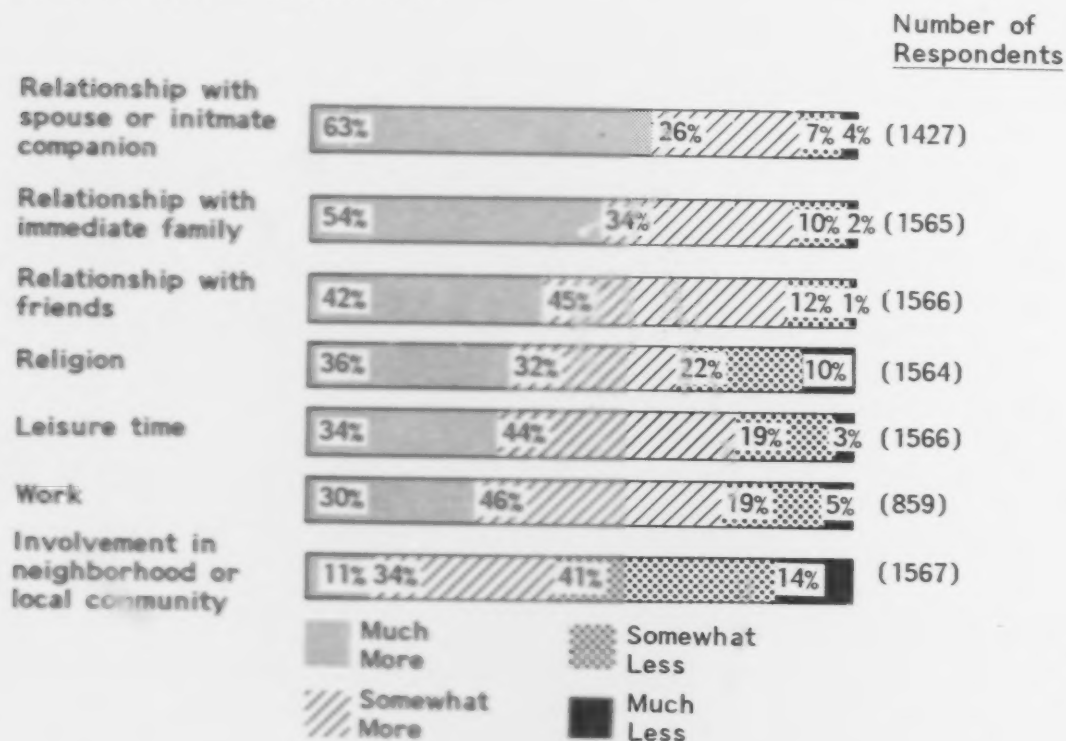
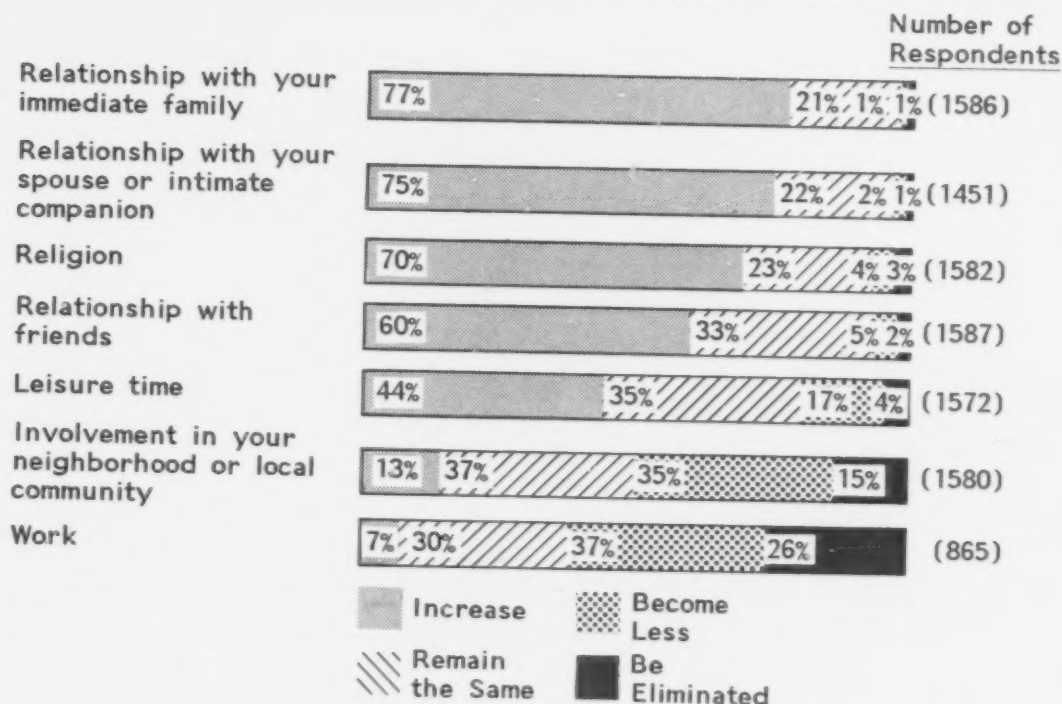


Table 10: Personal Priorities If One Had Only 6 Months to Live

If you knew you only had six months to live, which of the following aspects of your life would become more important, which would remain the same, which would become less important, and which would be eliminated?



Chapter One:
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Table 11: Age and the Importance of Religion with Only 6 Months to Live

If I had only 6 months to live, religion would	Age					
	14-20 %	21-24 %	25-34 %	35-49 %	50-64 %	65 and Over %
Increase in importance	76	73	74	73	68	55
Remain as important	15	18	18	23	25	42
Become less important	7	5	4	2	3	2
Be eliminated	2	4	4	2	4	1
(Number of Respondents)	(281)	(151)	(291)	(321)	(314)	(218)

Table 12: Level of Religious Commitment and the Importance of Religion if One Had Only 6 Months to Live

If I had only 6 months to live, religion would	Level of Religious Commitment				
	Lowest %	Low %	Moderate %	High %	Highest %
Increase in importance	42	71	78	80	81
Remain as important	31	24	21	20	19
Become less important	14	3	1	0	0
Be eliminated	13	2	0	0	0
(Number of Respondents)	(282)	(500)	(379)	(257)	(164)

Chapter Two:
Belief in the American Political System and Participation in the Community

No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friends or of thine own were; any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

John Donne, 1623

(The American) community is already in the process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy...

Justice Learned Hand, 1952

When nations cease believing in themselves, when they regard their institutions with cynicism and their traditions with flippancy, they will not long remain great nations.

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, 1971
Editor, Tulsa Tribune

Americans have both a faith in their political system and a fear it is not working.

Time Magazine, February 23, 1981

CHAPTER TWO
BELIEF IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM
AND PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY

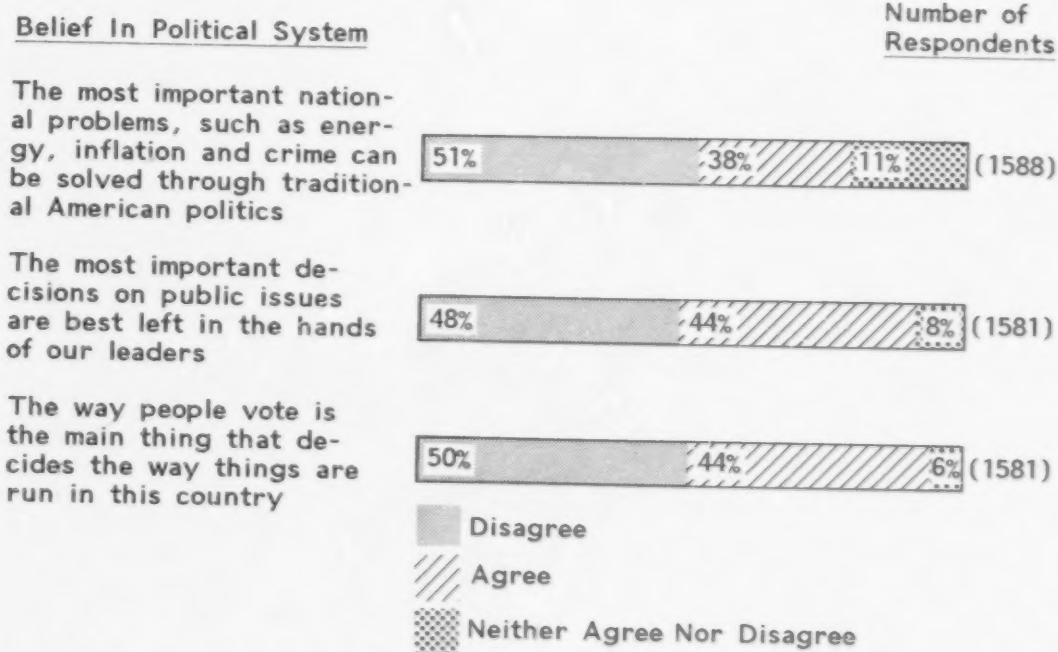
The Connecticut Mutual Life Report on American Values in the '80s: The Impact of Belief documents the profound effect of religious commitment on all aspects of American life -- from the smallest local community level to the broadest national political question. In recent years, there has been a great deal of discussion concerning American disenchantment with the political system. In communities throughout the United States crime and other social problems are steadily increasing with no end in sight. Citizens have begun to wonder whether their local governments are equipped to handle these problems. At the national level, half the electorate didn't bother to vote for president in 1980, resulting in one of the smallest turnouts in the history of the United States. This comes on the heels of the disillusionment caused by Vietnam, Watergate, Abscam and the Iranian hostage situation, to name only a few such assaults on our national morale.

National and community leaders must ask themselves how the American public can be persuaded to become involved in "the system" and to believe that their participation counts. Our study confirms that a substantial number of Americans lack faith in American institutions.

Chapter Two:
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Fifty-one percent (51%), for example, believe that important national problems such as energy shortages, inflation and crime cannot be solved through traditional American politics. Fifty percent (50%) believe that the vote is not the main thing that determines how the country is run, and 48% say that important decisions should not be left in the hands of our leaders.

Table 13: Confidence in U.S. Political System



Many of the Divisions of the Sixties Have Faded

Surprisingly, traditional explanatory variables such as gender and income do not seem to affect belief in the political system. Many of the old divisions of the sixties and seventies have apparently faded:

- ° The old and the middle-aged are as disenchanted as the young.
- ° Blacks do not express more disenchantment than Whites and in fact tend to have markedly more positive attitudes toward the political system.
- ° There are no consistent or striking differences in the responses of blue collar, white collar, or professional workers.
- ° Democrats and Republicans, and people who describe themselves as liberal or conservative, do not differ markedly in their levels of belief in the system.

Men and women are also virtually identical in their belief in the system, and there are no large or consistent differences between urban and rural Americans or among those in various regions of the country. Disenchantment cuts across all these segments of our society.

The only exception is that Blacks and the least educated are particularly likely to feel that traditional politics can solve the nation's most pressing problems. The only factor (other than level of religious commitment) that in some cases has a comparable impact on belief in the system is education. Fifty-two percent (52%) of those with lower levels of education, for example, believe that important issues should be left in the hands of our leaders, compared with only 33% of those with higher levels of education.

Chapter Two: **Belief in the American Political System and Participation in the Community**

There are smaller, though notable, differences between less and more advantaged Americans on the issue of whether our nation's most crucial problems can be solved through traditional American politics. Forty-six percent (46%) of Americans with lower levels of education believe this, compared with 30% of those with higher levels of education.

It is one's level of religious commitment, however, that consistently and dramatically predicts belief in the American political system. The most religious Americans, for example, are particularly likely to have faith in the vote (64% versus 32% of the least religious); more confidence in our leaders (56% versus 36% of the least religious); and a greater degree of belief that traditional politics can solve the pressing problems of today (41% versus 30% of the least religious).

Table 14: Factors Affecting Belief That The Vote Is Decisive

Do you agree or disagree that the way people vote is the main thing that decides the way things are run in this country?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	44	6	50	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	32	7	61	
Low	41	7	52	
Moderate	46	6	48	
High	49	4	47	
Highest	64	5	31	32
Age				
14-20	58	8	34	
21-24	43	6	51	
25-34	34	4	62	
35-49	37	5	58	
50-64	45	5	50	
65 and over	51	8	41	24
Gender				
Male	41	6	53	
Female	47	6	47	6
Region				
Northeast	42	8	50	
West	42	4	54	
Midwest	38	7	55	
South	52	5	43	14
Place of Residence				
Large City	46	5	49	
Small city	50	7	43	
Suburb	38	6	56	
Rural	40	5	55	12
Race				
White	41	6	53	
Black	65	4	31	24
Income				
Under \$12,000.	46	7	47	
\$12,000. to \$25,000	43	4	53	
Above \$25,000.	37	5	58	9
Education				
11th grade or less	55	8	37	
High school graduate	44	5	51	
Some college or more	32	5	63	23
Political orientation				
Liberal	44	4	52	
Moderate	43	6	51	
Conservative	48	4	48	4

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age, race and education have the strongest impact on whether or not Americans believe that the way people vote is the main thing that decides the way things are run in this country. Region, place of residence and income have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, and between liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Chapter Two: Belief in the American Political System and Participation in the Community

Table 15: Factors Affecting Belief That Leaders Should Make Important Decisions

Do you agree or disagree that the most important decisions on public issues are best left in the hands of our leaders?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	44	8	48	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	36	8	56	
Low	40	10	50	
Moderate	46	6	48	
High	51	5	44	
Highest	56	10	34	20
<u>Age</u>				
14-20	41	11	48	
21-24	37	8	55	
25-34	38	6	56	
35-49	42	7	51	
50-64	49	10	41	
65 and over	56	7	37	19
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	43	8	49	
Female	45	8	47	2
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	43	10	47	
West	33	9	58	
Midwest	44	6	50	
South	50	7	43	17
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large City	41	8	51	
Small city	45	8	47	
Suburb	41	8	50	
Rural	46	8	46	5
<u>Race</u>				
White	44	8	48	
Black	45	7	48	1
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	49	7	44	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	43	7	50	
Above \$25,000.	38	8	54	11
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	52	9	39	
High school graduate	45	6	49	
Some college or more	33	9	58	15
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	39	7	54	
Moderate	45	7	48	
Conservative	47	7	46	8

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age, region, and education have the strongest impact on whether or not Americans believe that the most important decisions on public issues are best left in the hands of our leaders. Income and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, urban and rural dwellers, and between Whites and Blacks.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 16: Factors Affecting Belief In Traditional American Politics

Do you agree or disagree that the most important national problems, such as energy, inflation and crime can be solved through traditional American politics?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	38	11	51	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	30	13	57	
Low	39	11	50	
Moderate	39	11	50	
High	41	8	51	
Highest	41	16	43	11
Age				
14-20	42	15	43	
21-24	39	14	47	
25-34	34	10	56	
35-49	35	8	57	
50-64	39	8	53	
65 and over	41	15	44	8
Gender				
Male	39	8	53	
Female	37	14	49	2
Region				
Northeast	38	15	47	
West	40	10	50	
Midwest	34	11	55	
South	40	10	50	6
Place of Residence				
Large City	40	12	48	
Small city	37	12	51	
Suburb	39	10	51	
Rural	37	10	53	3
Race				
White	36	11	53	
Black	50	9	41	14
Income				
Under \$12,000.	39	13	48	
\$12,000. to \$25,000	37	10	53	
Above \$25,000.	35	6	59	4
Education				
11th grade or less	46	14	40	
High school graduate	38	11	51	
Some college or more	30	8	62	16
Political orientation				
Liberal	35	8	57	
Moderate	41	11	48	
Conservative	36	10	54	1

This table shows that level of religious commitment, race and education have the strongest impact on whether or not Americans believe that the most important national problems can be solved through traditional politics. Age has a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, the least and most affluent, and between liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

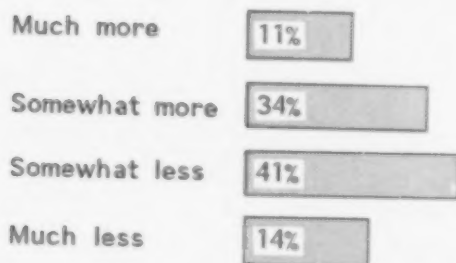
Chapter Two: Belief in the American Political System and Participation in the Community

Community Involvement

A large majority of Americans say that they derive little satisfaction from personal involvement in their local community. Fifty-five percent (55%) of Americans, for example, say they derive less satisfaction from involvement in their neighborhood or local community than from most other aspects of their lives. In fact, community involvement ranks lowest among the various aspects of life (see Table 9).

Table 17: Satisfaction Derived From Community Involvement

How much satisfaction do you derive from involvement in your neighborhood and local community compared with other aspects of your life?



(Number of Respondents) (1567)

*See Table 9 for ranking of community involvement.

Impact Of Religious Commitment On Community Involvement

Not only is level of religious commitment a remarkably strong predictor of belief in the political system, it is, along with age, the strongest factor influencing community involvement. In the first place, the most religious are significantly more likely than the least religious to say that they derive much more satisfaction from involvement in their community than from other aspects of their life (22% versus 3%).

Table 18: Level of Religious Commitment and Satisfaction Derived From Community Involvement

Relative Satisfaction Derived From Com- munity Involvement	Level of Religious Commitment				
	Lowest %	Low %	Moderate %	High %	Highest %
Much More	3	8	13	18	22
Somewhat More	22	34	33	44	41
Somewhat Less	53	41	44	30	31
Much Less	22	17	10	8	6
(Number of Respondents)	(282)	(500)	(372)	(252)	(161)

The most religiously committed Americans also exhibit a remarkably higher degree of involvement across the complete range of community activities. Compared with the least intensely religious:

- ° The most religiously committed Americans are far more likely to vote in local elections (77% vs. 49%).
- ° They are far more likely to attend community or neighborhood meetings (34% versus 5%).

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- ° They are far more likely to discuss local issues with friends and neighbors (54% versus 33%).
- ° They are far more likely to do volunteer work for a local organization (38% versus 6%).
- ° They are far more likely to visit with neighbors (45% versus 30%).

Beyond this, the most religious are also more inclined to have served as officers in local organizations (42% versus 27%), and to say they would like to participate in making their community a better place to live (94% versus 79%).

Equally impressive is the impact of religion on one's sense of community. The essence of this influence can be seen in response to the question, "How often do you feel you belong to a community?". Less than half (45%) of the least religiously committed say they frequently feel they belong, compared with a large majority (83%) of the most religious.

We also find that:

- ° Those most committed to religion are much more likely than the least religious to feel they can have a significant influence on the way their community is run (76% vs. 39%).
- ° They are far more likely to say that they would like to remain living where they are now. (77% vs. 49%).
- ° They are more likely to feel frequently they can rely on their neighbors (73% vs. 54%).

Other Factors

The impact of religious commitment on community involvement and one's sense of community is far stronger than the impact of traditional explanatory factors such as gender, region, race, income, education and place of residence.

Sociologists and political scientists have in the past reported that those Americans most integrated into the mainstream of society are the most deeply involved in its institutions. The most educated, for example, are generally assumed to vote, participate in local organizations, speak out concerning local issues, and feel a sense of community. One would expect the less educated, on the other hand, to feel a relative sense of alienation. Surprisingly, however, these assumptions, except for the degree to which the educated vote, do not hold up.

The more educated are more likely than the less educated to say that they vote in local elections (67% versus 48%), and along with the the more affluent are more likely to have served as an officer in a local organization. There is very little difference, however, in the degree to which the most and least educated discuss local issues (44% versus 36%), do volunteer work (18% versus 14%) and feel they belong to a community (55% versus 60%).

It has also been assumed that men are more involved in their community than women. Until recently, and to some extent even now, women were denied access to community involvement, particularly to top-level positions. Women haven't even had the right to vote in thirty-three out of

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our forty-nine presidential elections. There are no significant differences, however, between the levels of community involvement of men and women.

Similarly, the South has always been considered the bastion of closely-knit communities, but again, religion is a much more powerful factor than region.

In general, Blacks and Whites express similar degrees of community involvement. The exceptions are that Blacks are more likely to want to participate in making their community a better place to live and to feel they can have an influence on the way their community is run. Whites, on the other hand, along with those living in rural areas, are more likely to feel they can rely on their neighbors.

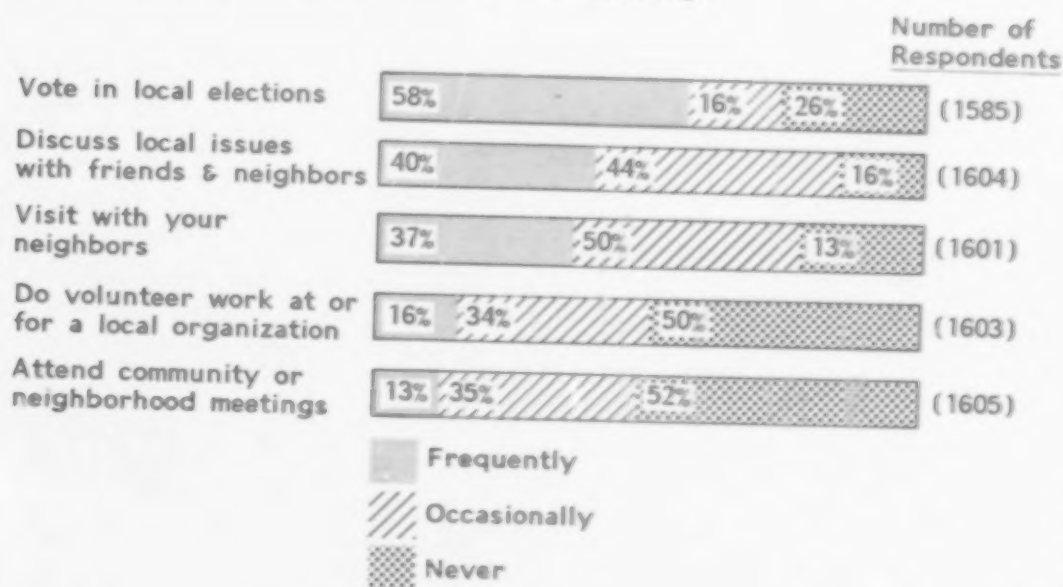
Other than level of religious commitment, the only significant, consistent factor affecting community involvement is age, which logically correlates at least to some extent with longevity in one's community, and therefore with a greater sense of belonging and of participation. Teen-agers and young adults, in other words, are not as likely as their elders to have developed a sense of rootedness and attachment to their communities. With age comes the feeling of being settled and the development of social attachments and networks within a community.

Clearly, the finding that religious involvement is, along with age, the most significant predictor of community participation and belief in the political system has some major implications. With only half the eligible

population voting, any single factor that has a strong impact on whether one believes that his or her vote counts can have a determining effect on local and national elections. This was dramatically illustrated during the recent presidential and congressional elections in which The Moral Majority and other single issue groups were so effective in guiding the voting public towards selected candidates. This political involvement, supported by our survey's findings, is in great contrast to the volatile sixties and early seventies when it was the disenchanted rather than the religious who were the most vocal.

Table 19: Community Involvement

How frequently do you do each of the following?



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Table 20: Sense of Community

How frequently do you feel each of the following?

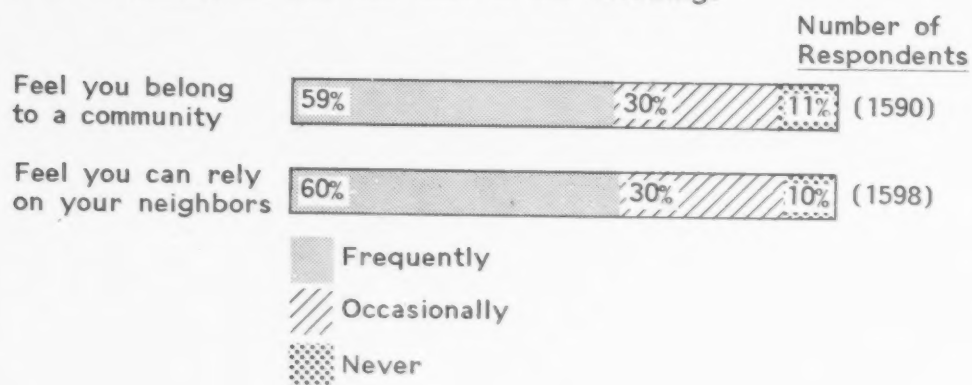


Table 21: Factors Affecting Voting In Local Elections

How frequently do you vote in local elections?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column* %
General Public	58	16	26	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	49	19	32	
Low	52	18	30	
Moderate	61	14	25	
High	64	12	24	
Highest	77	11	12	28
<u>Age</u>				
14-20 **	17	12	71	
21-24	41	21	38	
25-34	51	25	24	
35-49	72	15	13	
50-64	78	12	10	
65 and over	80	11	9	39
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	58	16	26	
Female	58	15	27	0
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	57	15	28	
West	61	14	25	
Midwest	60	16	24	
South	56	16	28	5
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large City	55	20	25	
Small city	56	13	31	
Suburb	60	15	25	
Rural	63	14	23	8
<u>Race</u>				
White	59	16	25	
Black	57	12	31	2
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	58	16	26	
\$12,000. to \$25,000	59	18	23	
Above \$25,000.	67	16	17	9
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	48	13	39	
High school graduate	59	17	24	
Some college or more	67	18	15	19
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	56	16	28	
Moderate	59	18	23	
Conservative	62	15	23	6

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age and education have the strongest effect on American voting behavior. Place of residence and income have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, Whites and Blacks, and between liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**Those between the ages of 14-20 were excluded in calculating the "percent difference" column since most people in this age group are too young to vote.

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Table 22: Factors Affecting Doing Volunteer Work

How frequently do you volunteer work at or for a local organization?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
General Public	16	34	50	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	6	35	59	
Low	10	32	58	
Moderate	17	36	47	
High	26	33	41	
Highest	38	32	30	32
Age				
14-20	18	35	47	
21-24	12	35	53	
25-34	15	32	53	
35-44	21	36	43	
50-64	14	35	51	
65 and over	17	26	57	9
Gender				
Male	16	35	49	
Female	17	33	50	1
Region				
Northeast	18	31	51	
West	17	36	47	
Midwest	15	34	51	
South	17	33	50	3
Place of Residence				
Large City	14	38	48	
Small City	18	34	48	
Suburb	17	31	52	
Rural	16	33	51	4
Race				
White	16	35	49	
Black	21	26	53	5
Income				
Under \$12,000.	15	31	54	
\$12,000. to \$25,000	15	35	50	
Above \$25,000.	21	36	43	6
Education				
11th grade or less	14	31	55	
High school graduate	17	31	52	
Some college or more	18	40	42	4
Political orientation				
Liberal	16	31	53	
Moderate	15	36	49	
Conservative	19	33	48	3

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on whether or not Americans frequently do volunteer work for a local organization. Age has a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, and between liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 23: Factors Affecting Attending Community Meetings

How frequently do you attend community or neighborhood meetings?				Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	5	30	65	29
Low	7	34	59	
Moderate	16	41	43	
High	18	38	44	
Highest	34	31	35	
<u>Age</u>				
14-20**	7	23	70	19
21-24	5	26	69	
25-34	10	34	56	
35-49	16	44	40	
50-64	16	40	44	
65 and over**	24	40	36	
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	11	37	52	4
Female	15	34	51	
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	12	34	54	3
West	12	36	52	
Midwest	13	39	48	
South	15	34	51	
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large City	10	31	59	7
Small city	13	34	53	
Suburb	13	34	53	
Rural	17	42	41	
<u>Race</u>				
White	12	37	51	6
Black	18	30	52	
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	16	33	51	2
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	11	37	52	
Above \$25,000.	14	41	45	
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	15	30	55	1
High school graduate	11	38	51	
Some college or more	14	38	48	
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	12	35	53	5
Moderate	12	37	51	
Conservative	17	35	48	

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the strongest impact on whether or not Americans frequently attend community meetings. Age has a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and the most affluent, the least and the most educated, and liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

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Table 24: Factors Affecting Discussing Local Issues

How frequently do you discuss local issues with friends and neighbors?				
	Frequently	Occasionally	Never	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
	%	%	%	%
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	33	50	17	
Low	34	47	19	
Moderate	43	42	15	21
High	46	40	14	
Highest	54	36	10	
<u>Age</u>				
14-20**	29	50	21	
21-24	30	50	20	21
25-34	37	44	19	
35-49	46	43	11	
50-64	43	44	13	
65 and over**	50	36	14	
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	43	43	14	6
Female	37	45	18	
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	40	43	17	
West	41	43	16	
Midwest	38	48	14	3
South	41	42	17	
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large City	41	44	15	
Small city	42	42	16	
Suburb	36	48	16	6
Rural	37	46	17	
<u>Race</u>				
White	39	46	15	7
Black	46	35	19	
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	40	39	21	7
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	39	47	14	
Above \$25,000.	47	45	8	
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	36	42	22	
High school graduate	39	44	17	8
Some college or more	44	47	9	
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	40	45	15	
Moderate	41	45	14	2
Conservative	42	44	14	

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the strongest impact on whether or not Americans frequently discuss local issues with friends and neighbors. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and the most affluent, the least and the most educated, and liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

Table 25: Factors Affecting Visiting Neighbors

How frequently do you visit with your neighbors?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column* %
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	30	56	14	
Low	34	52	14	
Moderate	38	48	14	
High	45	46	9	15
Highest	45	46	9	
<u>Age</u>				
14-20**	49	41	10	
21-24	39	47	14	
25-34	34	50	16	
35-49	33	55	12	21
50-64	28	59	13	
65 and over**	43	45	12	
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	38	50	12	
Female	36	50	14	2
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	33	52	15	
West	37	47	16	
Midwest	37	52	11	6
South	39	49	12	
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large City	31	52	17	
Small city	40	46	14	
Suburb	35	52	13	9
Rural	39	53	8	
<u>Race</u>				
White	38	50	12	
Black	29	50	21	9
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	37	47	16	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	34	55	11	
Above \$25,000.	36	53	11	1
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	40	46	14	
High school graduate	36	52	12	
Some college or more	35	54	11	5
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	40	46	14	
Moderate	35	53	12	
Conservative	40	48	12	0

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the strongest impact on whether or not Americans frequently visit with their neighbors. Place of residence and race have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is relatively little, or virtually no, difference between those living in different regions of the country, the least and the most educated, men and women, the least and most affluent, and between liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

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Table 26: Factors Affecting Being An Officer in a Local Organization

Have you ever been an officer in a local organization?			
	Yes %	No %	Percent Difference: "Yes" Column* %
General Public	35	65	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	27	73	
Low	30	70	
Moderate	38	62	
High	42	58	
Highest	42	58	15
Age			
14-20	22	78	
21-24	21	79	
25-34	25	75	
35-49	45	55	
50-64	42	58	
65 and over	45	55	24
Gender			
Male	34	66	
Female	36	66	2
Region			
Northeast	32	68	
West	37	63	
Midwest	37	63	
South	33	67	5
Place of Residence			
Large City	30	70	
Small City	36	64	
Suburb	34	66	
Rural	37	63	7
Race			
White	36	64	
Black	28	72	8
Income			
Under \$12,000.	30	70	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	35	65	
Above \$25,000.	47	53	17
Education			
11th grade or less	29	71	
High school graduate	31	69	
Some college or more	45	55	16
Political orientation			
Liberal	30	70	
Moderate	35	65	
Conservative	41	59	11

This table reveals that age has the greatest impact on whether or not someone has served as an officer in a local organization. Level of religious commitment, income, education and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, and between Whites and Blacks.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 27: Factors Affecting Feeling One Belongs to a Community

How frequently do you feel you belong to a community?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
General Public	59	30	11	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	45	38	17	
Low	48	35	17	
Moderate	66	28	6	
High	70	24	6	
Highest	83	12	5	38
Age				
14-20	45	43	12	
21-24	41	38	21	
25-34	51	33	16	
35-49	69	25	6	
50-64	65	25	10	
65 and over	76	16	8	35
Gender				
Male	57	32	11	
Female	62	27	11	5
Region				
Northeast	53	32	15	
West	57	30	13	
Midwest	59	33	8	
South	64	25	11	11
Place of Residence				
Large City	50	36	14	
Small City	63	27	10	
Suburb	56	33	11	
Rural	66	26	8	16
Race				
White	60	29	11	
Black	56	33	11	4
Income				
Under \$12,000.	60	29	11	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	60	29	11	
Above \$25,000.	61	30	9	1
Education				
11th grade or less	61	29	10	
High school graduate	60	27	13	
Some college or more	55	34	11	6
Political orientation				
Liberal	58	31	11	
Moderate	58	31	11	
Conservative	63	28	9	5

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the strongest impact on whether or not Americans frequently feel they belong to a community. Region and place of residence have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, and between liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 28: Factors Affecting Relying on Neighbors

How frequently do you feel you can rely on your neighbors?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column ^a %
General Public	60	30	10	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	54	37	9	
Low	54	34	12	
Moderate	65	27	8	
High	66	26	8	
Highest	73	19	8	19
Age				
14-20	50	40	10	
21-24	47	40	13	
25-34	53	32	15	
35-49	66	27	7	
50-64	70	23	7	
65 and over	70	22	8	23
Gender				
Male	57	33	10	
Female	64	26	10	7
Region				
Northeast	56	34	10	
West	60	28	12	
Midwest	65	28	7	
South	61	29	10	9
Place of Residence				
Large City	51	36	13	
Small City	61	29	10	
Suburb	61	30	9	
Rural	68	26	6	17
Race				
White	63	29	8	
Black	46	36	18	17
Income				
Under \$12,000.	58	29	13	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	60	32	8	
Above \$25,000.	64	28	8	6
Education				
11th grade or less	60	30	10	
High school graduate	63	28	9	
Some college or more	58	33	9	2
Political orientation				
Liberal	58	33	9	
Moderate	62	31	7	
Conservative	62	26	12	4

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age, place of residence, and race have the strongest impact on whether or not Americans frequently feel they can rely on their neighbors. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, the least and the most affluent, the least and most educated, and between liberals and conservatives.

^aSee Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 29: Factors Affecting Wanting to Make One's Community A Better Place to Live

Would you like to participate more in making your community a better place to live?

	Yes %	No %	Percent Difference: "Yes" Column* %
General Public	85	15	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	79	21	
Low	83	17	
Moderate	89	11	
High	87	13	
Highest	94	6	15
Age			
14-20	92	8	
21-24	90	10	
25-34	86	14	
35-49	86	14	
50-64	81	19	
65-and over	74	26	18
Gender			
Male	86	14	
Female	84	16	2
Region			
Northeast	82	18	
West	82	18	
Midwest	86	14	
South	89	11	7
Place of Residence			
Large City	90	10	
Small City	84	16	
Suburb	84	16	
Rural	83	17	7
Race			
White	83	17	
Black	95	5	12
Income			
Under \$12,000	84	16	
\$12,000. to \$25,000	88	12	
Above \$25,000	84	16	0
Education			
11th grade or less	86	14	
High school graduate	86	14	
Some college or more	85	15	1
Political orientation			
Liberal	86	14	
Moderate	85	15	
Conservative	86	14	0

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age and race have the strongest impact on whether or not Americans would like to participate more in making their community a better place to live. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, urban and rural dwellers, the least and most affluent, those living in different regions of the country, the least and most educated and between liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 30: Factors Affecting Influencing The Way Community Is Run

Do you feel you can have a significant influence on the way your community is run?			
	Yes %	No %	Percent Difference: "Yes" Column* %
General Public	55	45	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	39	61	
Low	52	48	
Moderate	62	38	
High	58	42	
Highest	76	24	37
Age			
14-20	58	42	
21-24	52	48	
25-34	55	45	
35-49	59	41	
50-64	53	47	
65 and over	51	49	8
Gender			
Male	58	42	
Female	52	48	6
Region			
Northeast	49	51	
West	56	44	
Midwest	51	49	
South	62	38	13
Place of Residence			
Large City	52	48	
Semi City	53	47	
Suburb	59	41	
Rural	58	42	7
Race			
White	52	48	
Black	73	27	21
Income			
Under \$12,000.	58	42	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	52	48	
Above \$25,000	56	44	2
Education			
11th grade or less	40	60	
High school graduate	48	52	
Some college or more	57	43	3
Political orientation			
Liberal	57	43	
Moderate	51	49	
Conservative	61	39	4

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and race have the greatest impact on whether or not Americans feel they can have a significant influence on the way their community is run. Region has a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between the young and the old, men and women, urban and rural dwellers, the least and the most affluent, the least and most educated, and between liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 21-25 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 31: Factors Affecting Desire to Stay at Current Place of Residence

If you had the opportunity, would you like to move somewhere else, or would you stay where you are?

	Move %	Stay %	Percent Difference: "Move" Column* %
General Public	41	59	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	51	49	
Low	46	54	
Moderate	37	63	
High	38	62	
Highest	23	77	28
Age			
14-20	47	53	
21-24	59	41	
25-34	52	48	
35-49	40	60	
50-64	33	67	
65 and over	21	79	38
Gender			
Male	44	66	
Female	39	61	5
Region			
Northeast	48	52	
West	35	65	
Midwest	44	56	
South	36	64	13
Place of Residence			
Large City	44	56	
Small City	41	59	
Suburb	45	55	
Rural	36	64	9
Race			
White	39	61	
Black	52	48	13
Income			
Under \$12,000.	41	59	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	44	56	
Above \$25,000.	36	64	5
Education			
11th grade or less	38	62	
High school graduate	39	61	
Some college or more	47	53	9
Political orientation			
Liberal	44	56	
Moderate	43	57	
Conservative	34	66	10

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the strongest impact on whether or not Americans would prefer to move or stay where they currently live. Region, place of residence, race, education and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little difference between men and women, and between the least and most affluent.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Chapter Three:
The New Political Issues: Morality in America

God had been calling me to do more than just preach. He has called me to take action. I have a divine mandate to go right into the halls of Congress and fight for laws that will save America.

Reverend Jerry Falwell
1980 Fund Raising Letter

How many times have you heard it said that you can't legislate morality. If you can't legislate morality, pray tell me what can you legislate? Immorality? The fact of the matter is that you cannot legislate anything but morality!

Dr. D. James Kennedy
National Religious Broadcasters Convention
January 26, 1981

Groups concerned about such issues (single issues such as abortion) were able to organize opposition to incumbents based on their stands on them, and to persuade significant segments of the electorate to vote against an incumbent on the basis of that single issue.

The Almanac of American Politics
1980

CHAPTER THREE

THE NEW POLITICAL ISSUES: MORALITY IN AMERICA

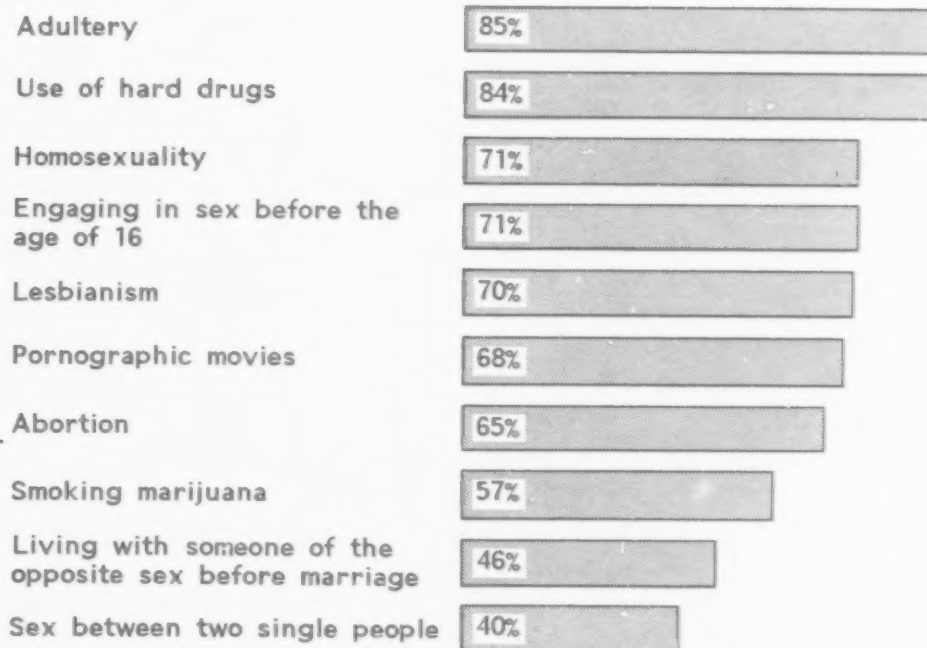
Liberals and conservatives are no longer divided over traditional political issues. Conservatives are only slightly more likely than liberals, for example, to believe that the benefits of nuclear power are greater than the risks involved (3% difference), that the government has too much power over the lives of average citizens (7% difference), or even that our involvement in Vietnam was unjustified (11% difference). Indeed, on most traditional political issues there are very few differences among Americans, regardless of party affiliation, political ideology, level of religious commitment, age, income, education, occupational status, geographic region, or gender. Today it is the moral issues -- abortion, homosexuality, drugs, etc. -- that are controversial. These are the issues which single issue constituencies, organized by such groups as The Moral Majority, have managed to inject into the political dialogue.

At first glance, there seems to be a consensus on many of today's moral issues. Seventy-one percent (71%) of the American public, for example, feel that homosexuality is morally wrong, 68% feel this way about pornographic movies, and 65% about abortion. More than half of Americans (57%) feel that smoking marijuana is morally wrong.

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Table 32: Moral Issues

Which of the following do you believe are morally wrong?



(Number of Respondents) (1610)

Our analysis reveals, however, that there is a sharp division among many groups concerning moral issues. This divisiveness is demonstrated most clearly by the fact that there is a substantial difference between liberals and conservatives when asked to judge the morality of lesbianism (20% difference), sex between two single people (19% difference), pornography (18% difference), and the use of marijuana (18% difference).

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These moral issues are also more divisive than traditional political issues among the young and old, men and women, those living in urban and rural areas, the rich and poor, and the least and most educated. For example:

- Americans over the age of 65 are more likely than those in their early twenties to believe that sex between two single people is morally wrong, (52% difference) and more likely to believe that living with someone before marriage is morally wrong (59% difference).
- The less educated are more likely than the more educated to feel that smoking marijuana is morally wrong (33% difference), and more likely to believe that living with someone before marriage is morally wrong (23% difference).
- Those living in rural areas are more likely than those living in large cities to believe that sex between two single people and smoking marijuana is morally wrong (18% difference).
- The least affluent are more likely than the most affluent to believe that living with a member of the opposite sex before marriage is morally wrong (25% difference) and that smoking marijuana is morally wrong (24% difference).
- Women are more likely than men to believe that both pornographic movies and having sex before the age of 16 is morally wrong (21% difference).

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Impact of Religion on Moral Issues

While demographic factors such as age, income, education, and gender clearly have an impact on attitudes toward moral issues, it is the impact of religion that is by far the most significant. On virtually every moral issue, religious commitment has the most powerful impact.

- The most religious are far more likely than the least religious to believe that living with someone before marriage is morally wrong (84% versus 17%).
- They are far more likely to believe that sex between two single people is morally wrong (74% versus 11%).
- They are far more likely to believe that smoking marijuana is morally wrong (87% versus 30%).
- They are far more likely to believe that abortion is morally wrong (85% versus 43%).
- They are far more likely to believe that pornography is morally wrong (87% versus 46%).
- They are far more likely to believe that homosexuality is morally wrong (87% versus 54%).

Table 33: Factors Affecting Perceived Morality Of Living With Someone Without Marriage

Do you believe living with someone of the opposite sex without being married is morally wrong, or is it not a moral issue?

	Morally Wrong %	Not a Moral Issue %	Percent Difference: "Morally Wrong" Column*
General Public	46	54	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	17	83	
Low	33	67	
Moderate	55	45	
High	73	27	
Highest	84	16	67
Age			
14-20	29	71	
21-24	22	78	
25-34	30	70	
35-49	50	50	
50-64	63	37	
65 and over	81	19	59
Gender			
Male	38	62	
Female	55	45	17
Region			
Northeast	37	63	
West	39	61	
Midwest	47	53	
South	38	42	21
Place of Residence			
Large City	40	60	
Small City	54	46	
Suburb	38	62	
Rural	54	46	16
Race			
White	46	54	
Black	50	50	4
Income			
Under \$12,000.	59	41	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	44	56	
Above \$25,000.	34	66	25
Education			
11th grade or less	57	43	
High school graduate	48	52	
Some college or more	34	66	23
Political orientation			
Liberal	37	63	
Moderate	47	53	
Conservative	54	46	17
Party Affiliation			
Republican	51	49	
Democrat	53	47	
Independent/Other	38	62	2

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on whether Americans believe living with someone of the opposite sex without being married is morally wrong. Gender, region, place of residence, income, and education, political orientation, and party affiliation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is virtually no difference between Whites and Blacks.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 34: Factors Affecting Perceived Morality of Sex Between Two Single People

Do you believe sex between two single people is morally wrong, or is it not a moral issue?

	Morally Wrong %	Not a Moral Issue %	Percent Difference: "Morally Wrong" Column *
General Public	40	60	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	11	89	
Low	27	73	
Moderate	48	52	
High	65	35	
Highest	74	26	63
Age			
14-20	24	76	
21-24	17	83	
25-34	25	75	
35-49	47	53	
50-64	51	49	
65 and over	69	31	52
Gender			
Male	33	67	
Female	47	53	14
Region			
Northeast	30	70	
West	32	68	
Midwest	43	57	
South	48	52	18
Place of Residence			
Large City	32	68	
Small City	43	57	
Suburb	32	68	
Rural	50	50	18
Race			
White	42	58	
Black	33	67	9
Income			
Under \$12,000.	47	53	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	40	60	
Above \$25,000.	33	67	14
Education			
11th grade or less	47	53	
High school graduate	42	58	
Some college or more	30	70	17
Political orientation			
Liberal	29	71	
Moderate	40	60	
Conservative	48	52	19
Party Affiliation			
Republican	47	53	
Democrat	44	56	
Independent/Other	31	69	3

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on whether Americans believe sex between two single people is morally wrong. Gender, region, place of residence, income, education and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between Whites and Blacks, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 35: Factors Affecting Perceived Morality of Smoking Marijuana

Do you believe smoking Marijuana is morally wrong, or is it not a moral issue?

	Morally Wrong %	Not a Moral Issue %	Percent Difference: "Morally Wrong" Column*
General Public	57	43	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>			
Lowest	30	70	
Low	49	51	
Moderate	66	34	
High	76	24	
Highest	87	13	57
<u>Age</u>			
14-20	48	52	
21-24	27	73	
25-34	42	58	
35-49	59	41	
50-64	75	25	
65 and over	98	12	61
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	51	59	
Female	65	35	14
<u>Region</u>			
Northeast	52	48	
West	50	50	
Midwest	60	30	
South	66	34	16
<u>Place of Residence</u>			
Large City	50	50	
Small City	61	39	
Suburb	50	50	
Rural	68	32	18
<u>Race</u>			
White	57	43	
Black	64	36	7
<u>Income</u>			
Under \$12,000.	68	32	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	54	46	
Above \$25,000.	44	56	24
<u>Education</u>			
11th grade or less	72	28	
High school graduate	60	40	
Some college or more	39	61	33
<u>Political orientation</u>			
Liberal	47	53	
Moderate	57	43	
Conservative	65	35	18
<u>Party Affiliation</u>			
Republican	62	38	
Democrat	63	37	
Independent/other	51	49	1

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on whether Americans believe smoking marijuana is morally wrong. Gender, region, place of residence, income, education, and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between Whites and Blacks, and Republicans and Democrats.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 36: Factors Affecting Perceived Morality of Abortion

Do you believe abortion is morally wrong, or is it not a moral issue?

	Morally Wrong %	Not a Moral Issue %	Percent Difference: "Morally Wrong" Column* %
General Public	65	35	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>			
Lowest	43	57	
Low	58	42	
Moderate	75	25	
High	78	22	
Highest	85	15	42
<u>Age</u>			
14-20	65	35	
21-24	67	33	
25-34	59	41	
35-49	65	35	
50-64	65	35	
65 and over	75	25	16
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	64	36	
Female	67	33	3
<u>Region</u>			
Northeast	61	39	
West	56	44	
Midwest	67	33	
South	72	28	16
<u>Place of Residence</u>			
Large City	59	41	
Small City	66	34	
Suburb	65	35	
Rural	71	29	12
<u>Race</u>			
White	64	36	
Black	73	27	9
<u>Income</u>			
Under \$12,000.	74	26	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	64	36	18
Above \$25,000.	56	44	
<u>Education</u>			
11th grade or less	74	26	
High school graduate	67	33	
Some college or more	54	46	20
<u>Political orientation</u>			
Liberal	58	42	
Moderate	65	35	
Conservative	71	29	13
<u>Party Affiliation</u>			
Republican	64	36	
Democrat	68	32	
Independent/Other	62	38	4

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on whether Americans believe abortion is morally wrong. Age, region, place of residence, race, income, education and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 37: Factors Affecting Perceived Morality of Pornographic Movies

Do you believe pornographic movies are morally wrong, or are they not a moral issue?

	Morally Wrong %	Not a Moral Issue %	Percent Difference: "Morally Wrong" Column ^a %
General Public	68	32	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	46	54	
Low	61	39	
Moderate	79	21	
High	82	18	
Highest	87	13	41
Age			
14-20	60	40	
21-24	56	44	
25-34	61	39	
35-49	68	32	
50-64	79	21	
65 and over	88	12	32
Gender			
Male	58	42	
Female	79	21	21
Region			
Northeast	64	36	
West	66	34	
Midwest	73	27	
South	71	29	9
Place of Residence			
Large City	60	40	
Small City	71	29	
Suburb	66	34	
Rural	76	24	16
Race			
White	70	30	
Black	60	40	10
Income			
Under \$12,000.	75	25	
\$12,000. to \$25,000	69	31	
Above \$25,000.	60	40	15
Education			
11th grade or less	74	26	
High school graduate	73	27	
Some college or more	58	42	16
Political orientation			
Liberal	58	42	
Moderate	71	29	
Conservative	76	24	18
Party Affiliation			
Republican	71	29	
Democrat	72	23	
Independent/Other	65	35	1

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on whether Americans believe pornographic movies are morally wrong. Gender, region, place of residence, race, income, education, and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is virtually no difference between those with different party affiliations.

^aSee Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 38: Factors Affecting Perceived Morality of Lesbianism

Do you believe lesbianism is morally wrong, or is it not a moral issue?

	Morally Wrong %	Not a Moral Issue %	Percent Difference: "Morally Wrong" Column *
General Public	70	30	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	52	48	
Low	65	35	
Moderate	75	25	
High	83	17	
Highest	88	12	36
Age			
14-20	70	30	
21-24	62	38	
25-34	62	38	
35-49	69	31	
50-64	75	25	
65 and over	81	19	19
Gender			
Male	69	31	
Female	72	28	3
Region			
Northeast	62	38	
West	67	33	
Midwest	71	29	
South	77	23	15
Place of Residence			
Large City	63	37	
Small City	73	27	
Suburb	65	35	
Rural	77	23	14
Race			
White	70	30	
Black	74	26	4
Income			
Under \$12,000.	75	25	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	71	29	
Above \$25,000.	63	37	12
Education			
11th grade or less	77	23	
High school graduate	75	25	
Some college or more	57	43	20
Political orientation			
Liberal	60	40	
Moderate	70	30	
Conservative	80	20	20
Party Affiliation			
Republican	76	24	
Democrat	71	29	
Independent/Other	66	34	5

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on whether Americans believe lesbianism is morally wrong. Age, region, place of residence, income, education, and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, Whites and Blacks, and Republicans and Democrats.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 39: Factors Affecting Perceived Morality of Sex Before 16.

Do you believe sex before the age of 16 is morally wrong, or is it not a moral issue?

	Morally Wrong %	Not a Moral Issue %	Percent Difference: "Morally Wrong" Column*
General Public	71	29	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	51	49	
Low	68	32	
Moderate	76	24	
High	85	15	
Highest	84	16	33
Age			
14-20	56	44	
21-24	63	37	
25-34	62	38	
35-49	77	23	
50-64	81	19	
65 and over	87	13	31
Gender			
Male	60	40	
Female	81	19	21
Region			
Northeast	66	34	
West	67	33	
Midwest	73	27	
South	76	24	10
Place of Residence			
Large City	64	36	
Small City	74	26	
Suburb	68	32	
Rural	77	23	13
Race			
White	72	28	
Black	66	34	6
Income			
Under \$12,000.	75	25	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	72	28	
Above \$25,000.	66	34	9
Education			
11th grade or less	74	26	
High school graduate	75	25	
Some college or more	64	36	10
Political orientation			
Liberal	62	38	
Moderate	73	27	
Conservative	77	23	15
Party Affiliation			
Republican	72	28	
Democrat	75	25	
Independent/Other	67	33	3

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on whether Americans believe having sex before age 16 is morally wrong. Gender, region, place of residence, income, education, and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between Whites and Blacks, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 40: Factors Affecting Perceived Morality of Homosexuality

Do you believe homosexuality is morally wrong, or do you believe it is not a moral issue?

	Morally Wrong %	Not a Moral Issue %	Percent Difference: "Morally Wrong" Column*
General Public	71	29	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	54	46	
Low	67	33	
Moderate	78	22	
High	83	17	
Highest	87	13	33
Age			
14-20	70	30	
21-24	63	37	
25-34	64	36	
35-49	70	30	
50-64	79	21	
65 and over	81	19	18
Gender			
Male	72	28	
Female	72	28	0
Region			
Northeast	63	37	
West	69	31	
Midwest	73	27	
South	79	21	16
Place of Residence			
Large City	66	34	
Small City	72	28	
Suburb	67	33	
Rural	82	18	16
Race			
White	72	28	
Black	73	27	1
Income			
Under \$12,000.	76	24	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	73	27	
Above \$25,000.	64	36	12
Education			
11th grade or less	79	21	
High school graduate	75	25	
Some college or more	60	40	19
Political orientation			
Liberal	62	38	
Moderate	72	28	
Conservative	80	20	18
Party Affiliation			
Republican	77	23	
Democrat	74	26	
Independent/Other	66	34	3

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on whether Americans believe homosexuality is morally wrong. Age, region, place of residence, income, education, and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no difference between men and women, Whites and Blacks, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 41: Factors Affecting Perceived Morality of Adultery

Do you believe it is morally wrong for a married person to have sexual relations with someone other than their spouse, or is it not a moral issue?

	Morally Wrong %	Not a Moral Issue %	Percent Difference: "Morally Wrong" Column*
General Public	85	15	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>			
Lowest	74	26	
Low	84	16	
Moderate	90	10	
High	92	8	
Highest	94	6	20
<u>Age</u>			
14-10	87	13	
21-24	86	14	
25-34	78	22	
35-49	83	17	
50-64	90	10	
65 and over	94	6	16
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	83	17	
Female	89	11	6
<u>Region</u>			
Northeast	83	17	
West	83	17	
Midwest	89	11	
South	87	13	6
<u>Place of Residence</u>			
Large City	81	19	
Small City	88	12	
Suburb	83	17	
Rural	90	10	9
<u>Race</u>			
White	87	13	
Black	79	21	8
<u>Income</u>			
Under \$12,000.	88	12	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	87	13	
Above \$25,000.	80	20	8
<u>Education</u>			
11th grade or less	88	12	
High school graduate	87	13	
Some college or more	81	19	7
<u>Political orientation</u>			
Liberal	80	20	
Moderate	86	14	
Conservative	91	9	11
<u>Party Affiliation</u>			
Republican	89	11	
Democrat	87	13	
Independent/Other	84	16	2

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on whether Americans believe married persons having sexual relations with someone other than their spouse is morally wrong. Place of residence, race, income and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, the least and most educated, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 42: Factors Affecting Perceived Morality of Using Hard Drugs

Do you believe the use of hard drugs is morally wrong, or is it not a moral issue?

	Morally Wrong %	Not a Moral Issue %	Percent Difference: "Morally Wrong" Column* %
General Public	84	16	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	74	26	
Low	81	19	
Moderate	89	11	
High	90	10	
Highest	91	9	17
Age			
14-20	80	20	
21-24	73	27	
25-34	80	20	
35-49	85	15	
50-64	91	9	
65 and over	93	7	20
Gender			
Male	81	19	
Female	88	12	7
Region			
Northeast	80	20	
West	83	17	
Midwest	87	13	
South	86	14	7
Place of Residence			
Large City	80	20	
Small City	84	16	
Suburb	82	18	
Rural	89	11	9
Race			
White	84	16	
Black	89	11	5
Income			
Under \$12,000.	88	12	
\$12,000. to \$25,000	84	16	
Above \$25,000.	80	20	8
Education			
11th grade or less	91	9	
High school graduate	86	14	
Some college or more	75	25	16
Political orientation			
Liberal	80	20	
Moderate	85	15	
Conservative	88	12	8
Party Affiliation			
Republican	87	13	
Democrat	86	14	
Independent/Other	82	18	1

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age, and education have the greatest impact on whether Americans believe the use of hard drugs is morally wrong. Place of residence, income, and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, Whites and Blacks, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Moral Majority or Minority?

Despite the fact that most Americans quite obviously feel very strongly about moral issues, it is unclear whether there is a moral majority in America, or a minority. Only 24% of the population feel that all ten of the activities previously discussed* are morally wrong, but only 3% say that none are morally wrong. There is clearly a huge majority of Americans who are concerned about moral issues but prefer to evaluate each issue on an individual basis.

Table 43: Morality Index

Number of Issues Described as "Morally Wrong"	%
10	24
9	11
8	10
7	10
6	10
5	9
4	8
3	6
2	5
1	4
0	3

(Number of Respondents) (1610)

The moral minority, i.e., those who are strictest in their definition of what is morally wrong, are significantly more religious, and older, than the American public as a whole. They also are slightly more likely to be less educated.

*The ten activities are: adultery, use of hard drugs, homosexuality, having sex before the age of 16, lesbianism, pornographic movies, abortion, smoking marijuana, living with someone of the opposite sex without being married, sex between two single people.

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Table 44: Profile of the Moral Minority (those who describe all 10 activities as morally wrong)

	Moral Minority %	General Public* %
<u>Religious Commitment</u>		
Highest	25	10
High	28	16
Moderate	27	24
Low	18	32
Lowest	2	18
<u>Age</u>		
14-20	7	18
21-24	3	10
25-34	10	18
35-49	24	20
50-64	30	20
65 and over	26	14
<u>Gender</u>		
Male	39	48
Female	61	52
<u>Region</u>		
Northeast	17	24
West	12	15
Midwest	29	27
South	42	34
<u>Place of Residence</u>		
Large City	19	24
Small City	34	32
Suburb	15	20
Rural	32	24
<u>Race</u>		
White	92	88
Black	8	12
<u>Income</u>		
Under \$12,000	43	34
\$12,000 - \$25,000	41	44
Above \$25,000	16	22
<u>Education</u>		
11th Grade or less	46	34
High School Graduate	37	36
College	17	30
<u>Political Orientation</u>		
Liberal	15	23
Moderate	45	46
Conservative	40	31

*Based on this survey.

The Decline of Traditional Political Issues

As explained earlier, the political issues that divided America only a few short years ago are no longer the issues that divide us today. There is no Vietnam War pitting one segment of the population against the other. Even today's economic issues are not as controversial as they once were. Inflation, rather than unemployment, is generally assumed to seriously affect all segments of the population and thus has become the federal government's number one economic priority, regardless of the political affiliation of the President or Congress.

Indeed, on none of the traditional political issues listed on Tables 45 thru 61 is there more than a 14% difference between the responses of liberals and conservatives, and on many issues there is virtually no difference.

This survey demonstrates, in other words, that on many issues that once provoked volatile emotions, there is now a consensus. Not only do large majorities agree, but this consensus transcends demographic boundaries. At least seven out of every ten Americans believe, for example, that the courts are too concerned with the rights of criminals (70%), that the government has too much power over the lives of the average citizen (73%), that the United States has been too willing to accept refugees (76%), and that Social Security taxes should be increased if necessary to provide adequate incomes for older people (72%). Americans agree on these issues regardless of their political ideology or affiliation, age, gender, occupational status, race, place of residence, education, or level of religious commitment.

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There are other political issues, however, on which large majorities agree but on which there cannot be considered a consensus, since specific groups of Americans are predisposed either to oppose or support them. Sixty-nine percent (69%) of Americans, for example, believe that the government should make certain that everyone has a good standard of living, but the most affluent, those with the highest levels of education, and Whites are least supportive of this point of view.

Furthermore:

- 74% of Americans believe it is important for America to have the strongest military force in the world no matter what the cost. The most religious and those with lower levels of education are the most likely to believe this.
- 60% of Americans believe there should be a peace-time draft for men, but a minority of those under twenty-five feel this way.
- Those under twenty-five are the least certain that there is too much concern in the courts for the rights of criminals.
- 72% of Americans believe that the government should protect American industry from foreign competition. The less educated and those with the lowest income are the most likely to feel this way.
- The most religious are by far the most likely to oppose strengthening women's rights.
- 41% of Americans believe that the President should be elected for a single non-renewable term of six years. Those over the age of thirty-five and the highly religious are most likely to support this.
- 57% of Americans believe that the press is doing a good job of fulfilling its responsibilities to the public. Blacks, as well as the least educated, are particularly likely to feel this way.

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Many of the relationships which do not exist are quite interesting. It is perhaps surprising, for example, that older Americans are no more likely than most other age groups to support Social Security tax increases.

It is astonishing that women are no more likely than men to favor efforts to strengthen women's rights. In fact, gender does not seem to influence the way Americans feel about any political issue, including the draft for women.

It is also interesting that despite the recent attention given to regionalism, we find very little differences on these traditional political issues among Americans in one region of the country and another. Southerners, for example, who always have been assumed to live in a bastion of traditionalism, are for the most part no more likely than Northerners to favor or oppose women's rights, a strong military, or a guaranteed standard of living for all Americans.

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Table 45: Traditional Political Issues

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Number of Respondents
The government runs best when it listens to public opinion on major public issues	76	9	15	(1577)
The United States has been too willing to accept refugees from Cuba and South Vietnam	76	7	17	(1593)
It is important for America to have the strongest military force in the world, no matter what it costs	74	5	21	(1601)
The government has too much power over the lives of average citizens	73	8	19	(1587)
The government should protect American industry from foreign competition by limiting imports from countries such as Japan	72	8	20	(1588)
Social Security taxes should be increased if necessary to provide adequate incomes for older people	72	7	21	(1596)
There is too much concern in the courts for the rights of criminals	70	8	22	(1596)
The resignation of President Nixon was good because it showed that we could rid our country of corruption in high office	70	8	22	(1590)
The government ought to make sure everyone has a good standard of living	69	6	25	(1603)
Our involvement in the war in Vietnam was unjustified	66	14	20	(1580)
There should be a peace time draft for men	60	9	31	(1593)
The press is doing a good job of fulfilling its responsibility to the public	57	10	33	(1594)
The benefits of nuclear power are greater than the risks involved	55	15	30	(1574)
The president should be elected for a single nonrenewable term of six years	41	11	48	(1599)
There should be a draft of women for combat duty	25	7	68	(1592)
	Favor %	Oppose %		
Do you favor or oppose efforts to strengthen women's rights in this country	88	12		(1602)

Table 46: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Power of Public Opinion

The government runs best when it listens to public opinion on major public issues.

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	76	9	15	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	79	9	12	
Low	78	8	14	
Moderate	77	8	15	
High	74	8	18	
Highest	67	12	21	12
Age				
14-20	79	9	12	
21-24	78	9	13	
25-34	76	10	14	
35-49	77	7	16	
50-64	73	7	20	
65 and over	73	11	16	6
Gender				
Male	78	7	15	
Female	74	11	15	4
Region				
Northeast	77	8	15	
West	83	7	10	
Midwest	75	9	16	
South	74	10	16	9
Place of Residence				
Large City	76	9	15	
Small City	75	9	16	
Suburb	78	5	17	
Rural	75	11	14	3
Race				
White	77	8	15	
Black	74	9	17	3
Income				
Under \$12,000.	75	10	15	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	77	8	15	
Above \$25,000.	76	6	18	1
Education				
11th grade or less	75	11	14	
High school graduate	78	7	15	
Some college or more	75	8	17	0
Political orientation				
Liberal	77	8	15	
Moderate	77	7	16	
Conservative	78	6	16	1
Party Affiliation				
Republican	77	9	14	
Democrat	77	7	16	
Independent/Other	75	9	16	0

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe the government runs best when it listens to public opinion on major public issues. Region has a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between the young and old, men and women, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, liberals and conservatives, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 47: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Refugees

The United States has been too willing to accept refugees from Cuba and South Vietnam.

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	76	7	17	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	73	5	22	
Low	76	9	15	
Moderate	78	8	14	
High	76	6	18	
Highest	78	6	16	5
Age				
14-20	76	11	13	
21-24	76	7	17	
25-34	74	5	21	
35-49	80	4	16	
50-64	73	9	18	
65 and over	81	6	13	8
Gender				
Male	72	7	21	8
Female	80	8	12	
Region				
Northeast	72	8	20	
West	78	8	14	
Midwest	76	7	17	
South	79	6	15	7
Place of Residence				
Large City	72	9	19	
Small City	79	7	14	
Suburb	72	7	21	
Rural	80	6	14	8
Race				
White	76	7	17	
Black	78	6	16	2
Income				
Under \$12,000.	79	7	14	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	78	6	16	
Above \$25,000.	70	8	22	9
Education				
11th grade or less	79	7	14	
High school graduate	83	6	11	
Some college or more	66	8	26	13
Political orientation				
Liberal	68	9	23	
Moderate	78	7	15	
Conservative	82	4	14	14
Party Affiliation				
Republican	78	6	16	
Democrat	78	6	16	
Independent/Other	75	8	17	0

This table reveals that education and political orientation have the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe the United States has been too willing to accept refugees from Cuba and South Vietnam. Age, gender, place of residence, and income have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those with different levels of religious commitment, those living in different regions of the country, Whites and Blacks, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 48: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Importance of Strong Military

It is important for America to have the strongest military force in the world, no matter what it costs.

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	73	8	19	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	60	6	34	
Low	74	6	20	
Moderate	76	4	20	
High	79	5	16	
Highest	80	3	17	20
Age				
14-20	67	8	25	
21-24	62	6	32	
25-34	67	6	27	
35-49	78	2	20	
50-64	79	4	17	
65 and over	83	4	13	21
Gender				
Male	73	3	24	
Female	74	7	19	1
Region				
Northeast	70	4	26	
West	72	5	23	
Midwest	73	6	21	
South	77	6	17	7
Place of Residence				
Large City	71	5	24	
Small City	75	5	20	
Suburb	75	5	20	
Rural	72	6	22	4
Race				
White	74	5	21	
Black	75	5	20	1
Income				
Under \$12,000.	76	7	17	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	73	5	22	
Above \$25,000.	69	4	27	7
Education				
11th grade or less	81	5	14	
High school graduate	76	6	18	
Some college or more	62	5	33	19
Political orientation				
Liberal	65	4	31	
Moderate	74	6	20	
Conservative	78	4	18	13
Party Affiliation				
Republican	82	4	14	
Democrat	77	5	19	
Independent/Other	64	6	30	5

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age, and education have the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe it is important for America to have the strongest military force in the world, no matter what it costs. Political orientation has a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, and between Republicans and Democrats.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 49: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Big Government

The government has too much power over the lives of average citizens.

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	72	8	20	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	71	11	18	
Low	71	8	21	
Moderate	76	7	17	
High	77	8	15	
Highest	73	5	22	2
Age				
14-20	66	11	23	
21-24	73	8	19	
25-34	75	9	16	
35-49	78	7	15	
50-64	76	4	20	
65 and over	72	8	20	12
Gender				
Male	75	7	18	
Female	72	9	19	3
Region				
Northeast	74	5	21	
West	74	8	18	
Midwest	75	8	17	
South	72	9	19	3
Place of Residence				
Large City	72	8	20	
Small City	76	6	18	
Suburb	72	6	22	
Rural	73	10	17	4
Race				
White	74	8	18	
Black	69	5	26	5
Income				
Under \$12,000.	73	7	20	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	76	7	17	
Above \$25,000.	76	7	17	3
Education				
11th grade or less	70	8	22	
High school graduate	77	7	16	
Some college or more	73	8	19	3
Political orientation				
Liberal	70	6	24	
Moderate	75	8	17	
Conservative	77	6	17	7
Party Affiliation				
Republican	76	8	16	
Democrat	72	7	21	
Independent/Other	76	7	17	4

This table reveals that age has the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe the government has too much power over the lives of citizens. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those with different levels of religious commitment, men and women, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, liberals and conservatives, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 50: Factors Affecting Protectionism

Do you agree or disagree that the government should protect American industry from foreign competition by limiting imports from countries such as Japan?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	72	8	20	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	66	7	27	
Low	71	10	19	
Moderate	74	6	20	
High	72	10	18	
Highest	80	11	9	14
<u>Age</u>				
14-20	71	10	19	
21-24	65	12	23	
25-34	70	7	23	
35-49	73	6	21	
50-64	75	8	17	
65 and over	74	8	18	10
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	67	6	27	
Female	76	10	14	9
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	72	7	21	
West	73	8	19	
Midwest	72	8	20	
South	72	11	17	1
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large city	69	8	23	
Small city	75	7	18	
Suburb	71	7	22	
Rural	69	12	19	6
<u>Race</u>				
White	71	8	21	
Black	77	9	14	6
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	79	9	12	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	72	8	20	
Above \$25,000.	62	7	31	17
<u>Education</u>				
11th Grade or less	77	9	14	
High school graduate	80	7	13	
Some college or more	57	9	34	20
<u>Political Orientation</u>				
Liberal	73	6	21	
Moderate	73	8	19	
Conservative	71	8	21	2
<u>Party Affiliation</u>				
Republican	70	7	23	
Democrat	80	8	12	
Independent/Other	66	8	26	10

This table reveals that income and education have the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe the government should limit imports from countries such as Japan. Level of religious commitment, age, gender and party affiliation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, and liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 51: Factors Affecting Willingness to Increase Social Security Taxes

Do you agree or disagree that Social Security taxes should be increased if necessary to provide adequate income for older people?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	72	7	21	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	69	7	24	
Low	70	8	22	
Moderate	75	6	19	
High	72	8	20	
Highest	74	7	19	5
<u>Age</u>				
14-20	75	9	16	
21-24	73	7	20	
25-34	65	8	27	
35-49	71	5	24	
50-64	74	6	20	
65 and over	74	9	17	10
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	71	6	23	
Female	73	8	19	2
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	71	8	21	
West	68	6	26	
Midwest	72	8	20	
South	74	6	20	6
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large City	73	7	20	
Small City	72	7	21	
Suburb	73	6	21	
Rural	69	9	22	4
<u>Race</u>				
White	70	7	23	
Black	82	4	14	12
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	76	7	17	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	70	7	23	
Above \$25,000.00	66	7	27	10
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	75	7	18	
High school graduate	73	7	20	
Some college or more	66	7	27	9
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	78	6	16	
Moderate	71	6	23	
Conservative	69	8	23	9
<u>Party Affiliation</u>				
Republican	68	10	22	
Democrat	75	6	19	
Independent/Other	71	6	23	7

This table reveals that age, race, income, education, and political orientation have somewhat of an impact on whether or not Americans believe Social Security taxes should be increased to provide adequate income for older people. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those with different levels of religious commitment, men and women, urban and rural dwellers, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 52: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Rights of Criminals

Do you agree or disagree that there is too much concern in the courts for the rights of criminals?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column* %
General Public	70	8	22	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	68	10	22	
Low	69	7	24	
Moderate	72	7	21	
High	74	5	21	
Highest	72	7	21	4
<u>Age</u>				
14-20	60	12	28	
21-24	58	8	34	
25-34	67	6	27	
35-49	79	7	14	
50-64	75	7	18	
65 and over	78	6	16	21
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	72	8	20	
Female	69	7	24	3
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	71	8	21	
West	72	7	21	
Midwest	72	7	21	
South	68	7	25	4
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large City	70	9	21	
Small City	69	8	23	
Suburb	73	6	21	
Rural	71	7	22	4
<u>Race</u>				
White	72	7	21	
Black	62	8	30	10
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	69	8	23	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	73	7	20	
Above \$25,000.00	75	6	19	6
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	66	9	25	
High school graduate	73	6	21	
Some college or more	72	8	20	6
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	62	8	30	
Moderate	74	7	19	
Conservative	74	6	20	12
<u>Party Affiliation</u>				
Republican	76	7	17	
Democrat	69	7	24	
Independent/Other	69	8	23	7

This table reveals that age has the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe there is too much concern in the courts for the rights of criminals. Race and political orientation have a lesser but still significant impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those with different levels of religious commitment, men and women, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 53: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Nixon's Resignation

Do you agree or disagree that the resignation of President Nixon was good because it showed that we could rid our country of corruption in high office?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	70	8	22	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	66	9	25	
Low	69	8	23	
Moderate	70	10	20	
High	69	8	23	
Highest	76	5	19	10
<u>Age</u>				
14-20	66	11	23	
21-24	63	14	23	
25-34	66	27	7	
35-49	70	7	23	
50-64	73	6	21	
65 and over	79	7	14	16
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	70	7	23	
Female	69	9	22	1
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	69	10	21	
West	67	8	25	
Midwest	74	7	19	
South	67	8	25	7
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large City	71	9	20	
Small City	72	7	21	
Suburb	69	9	22	
Rural	64	9	27	8
<u>Race</u>				
White	69	8	23	
Black	74	5	21	5
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$10,000.	74	8	18	
\$10,000. to \$25,000.	68	8	24	
Above \$25,000.00	68	7	25	6
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	71	10	19	
High school graduate	72	6	22	
Some college or more	65	8	27	6
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	71	7	22	
Moderate	72	6	22	
Conservative	66	10	24	5
<u>Party Affiliation</u>				
Republican	62	10	28	
Democrat	77	5	18	
Independent/Other	71	9	20	15

This table reveals that age and party affiliation have the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe the resignation of President Nixon was good. Level of religious commitment and place of residence have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, and between liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 54: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Ensuring Everyone an Adequate Standard of Living

Do you agree or disagree that the government ought to make sure everyone has a good standard of living?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column* %
General Public	69	6	25	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	65	7	28	
Low	69	7	24	
Moderate	70	5	25	
High	69	5	26	
Highest	76	3	21	11
<u>Age</u>				
14-20	78	10	12	
21-24	78	7	15	
25-34	65	7	28	
35-49	62	2	36	
50-64	67	4	29	
65 and over	72	5	23	16
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	67	5	28	
Female	71	6	23	4
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	75	7	18	
West	66	6	28	
Midwest	68	6	26	
South	68	4	28	9
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large City	71	6	23	
Small City	69	6	25	
Suburb	68	6	26	
Rural	68	5	27	3
<u>Race</u>				
White	66	6	28	
Black	89	1	10	23
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	79	5	16	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	66	6	28	
Above \$25,000.	55	6	39	24
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	79	5	16	
High school graduate	70	6	24	
Some college or more	57	7	36	22
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	76	5	19	
Moderate	69	6	25	
Conservative	64	4	32	12
<u>Party Affiliation</u>				
Republican	62	6	32	
Democrat	76	4	20	
Independent/Other	66	6	28	14

This table reveals that race, income, and education have the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe the government ought to make sure everyone has a good standard of living. Level of religious commitment, age, region of the country, political orientation, and party affiliation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women and between those living in urban and rural areas.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 55: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Vietnam War

Do you agree or disagree that our involvement in the war in Vietnam was unjustified?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column* %
General Public	66	14	20	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	68	11	21	
Low	67	14	19	
Moderate	66	15	19	
High	66	12	22	
Highest	59	18	23	9
<u>Age</u>				
14-20	67	21	12	
21-24	66	13	21	
25-34	65	10	25	
35-49	66	10	24	
50-64	64	16	20	
65 and over	68	14	18	4
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	67	10	23	
Female	64	18	18	3
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	69	11	20	
West	71	11	18	
Midwest	66	14	20	
South	62	17	21	9
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large City	69	12	19	
Small City	69	13	18	
Suburb	63	13	24	
Rural	63	17	20	6
<u>Race</u>				
White	65	15	20	
Black	72	12	16	7
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	69	13	18	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	66	14	20	
Above \$25,000.00	66	12	22	3
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	68	16	16	
High school graduate	65	14	21	
Some college or more	66	11	23	2
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	74	9	17	
Moderate	66	14	20	
Conservative	63	14	23	11
<u>Party Affiliation</u>				
Republican	59	16	25	
Democrat	70	12	18	
Independent/Other	68	13	19	11

Level of religious commitment, region, political orientation, and party affiliation have somewhat of an impact on whether or not Americans believe our involvement in the war in Vietnam was unjustified. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between the young and the old, men and women, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, and the least and most educated.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 56: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Male Draft

Do you agree or disagree that there should be a peace-time draft for men?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	60	9	31	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	56	8	36	
Low	54	9	37	
Moderate	64	9	27	
High	64	9	27	
Highest	65	12	23	9
<u>Age</u>				
14-20	41	12	47	
21-24	45	8	47	
25-34	63	9	28	
35-49	65	10	25	
50-64	68	7	25	
65 and over	68	8	24	27
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	62	7	31	
Female	57	11	32	5
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	55	9	36	
West	58	11	31	
Midwest	58	10	32	
South	65	8	27	10
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large City	61	8	31	
Small City	57	9	34	
Suburb	58	9	33	
Rural	62	10	28	5
<u>Race</u>				
White	59	9	32	
Black	59	7	34	0
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	63	6	31	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	60	10	30	
Above \$25,000.	56	8	36	7
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	62	9	29	
High school graduate	60	10	30	
Some college or more	55	9	36	7
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	52	7	41	
Moderate	62	8	30	
Conservative	63	10	27	11
<u>Party Affiliation</u>				
Republican	64	9	27	
Democrat	63	8	29	
Independent/Other	54	8	38	1

This table reveals that age has the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe there should be a peace-time draft for men. Level of religious commitment, region, and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 57: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Press

Do you agree or disagree that the press is doing a good job of fulfilling its responsibility to the public?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	57	10	33	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	57	12	31	
Low	55	10	35	
Moderate	59	10	31	
High	54	11	35	
Highest	62	6	32	5
Age				
14-20	68	13	19	
21-24	56	14	30	
25-34	51	10	39	
35-49	51	6	43	
50-64	61	5	34	
65 and over	54	16	30	17
Gender				
Male	58	10	32	
Female	56	10	34	2
Region				
Northeast	56	10	34	
West	54	9	37	
Midwest	56	12	32	
South	60	10	30	6
Place of Residence				
Large City	56	8	36	
Small City	56	9	35	
Suburb	59	11	30	
Rural	54	13	33	5
Race				
White	56	9	35	
Black	66	11	23	10
Income				
Under \$12,000.	58	11	31	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	57	9	34	
Above \$25,000.	53	8	39	5
Education				
11th grade or less	64	11	25	
High school graduate	56	9	35	
Some college or more	50	11	39	14
Political orientation				
Liberal	62	6	32	
Moderate	55	11	34	
Conservative	55	9	36	7
Party Affiliation				
Republican	54	11	35	
Democrat	60	8	32	
Independent/Other	55	10	35	6

This table reveals that age and education have the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe the press is doing a good job of fulfilling its responsibility to the public. Race has a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those with different levels of religious commitment, men and women, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, the least and most affluent, liberals and conservatives, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 58: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Nuclear Power

Do you agree or disagree that the benefits of nuclear power are greater than the risks involved?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column* %
General Public	55	15	30	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	50	14	36	
Low	54	17	29	
Moderate	54	14	32	
High	62	14	24	
Highest	54	15	31	4
Age				
14-20	51	14	35	
21-24	39	16	45	
25-34	51	13	36	
35-49	58	16	26	
50-64	63	14	23	
65 and over	59	19	22	24
Gender				
Male	59	12	29	
Female	50	18	32	9
Region				
Northeast	52	14	34	
West	52	16	32	
Midwest	55	14	31	
South	57	16	27	5
Place of Residence				
Large City	54	17	29	
Small City	56	14	30	
Suburb	54	14	32	
Rural	54	16	30	2
Race				
White	54	15	31	
Black	55	16	29	1
Income				
Under \$12,000.	55	17	28	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	54	14	32	
Above \$25,000.	60	11	29	5
Education				
11th grade or less	56	17	27	
High school graduate	56	15	29	
Some college or more	52	13	35	4
Political orientation				
Liberal	54	11	35	
Moderate	56	14	30	
Conservative	57	15	28	3
Party Affiliation				
Republican	61	14	25	
Democrat	54	15	31	
Independent/Other	52	14	34	7

This table reveals that age has the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe the benefits of nuclear power are greater than the risks involved. Gender has somewhat of an impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those with different levels of religious commitment, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, liberals and conservatives, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 59: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Six Year Presidential Term

Do you agree or disagree that the president should be elected for a nonrenewable term of six years?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	41	11	48	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	35	12	53	
Low	42	10	48	
Moderate	38	11	51	
High	44	11	45	
Highest	47	12	41	12
Age				
14-20	33	13	54	
21-24	34	12	54	
25-34	36	13	51	
35-49	45	8	47	
50-64	44	11	45	
65 and over	51	9	40	18
Gender				
Male	42	11	47	
Female	40	10	50	2
Region				
Northeast	42	10	48	
West	46	8	46	
Midwest	42	10	48	
South	37	13	50	9
Place of Residence				
Large City	39	11	50	
Small City	42	11	47	
Suburb	44	11	45	
Rural	38	11	51	6
Race				
White	41	11	48	
Black	40	11	49	1
Income				
Under \$12,000.	40	9	51	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	39	13	48	
Above \$25,000.	48	8	44	8
Education				
11th grade or less	37	12	51	
High school graduate	40	10	50	
Some college or more	45	10	45	8
Political orientation				
Liberal	42	10	48	
Moderate	42	9	49	
Conservative	41	12	47	1
Party Affiliation				
Republican	39	12	49	
Democrat	44	9	47	
Independent/Other	39	10	51	5

This table reveals that age has the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe the president should be elected for a nonrenewable term of six years. Level of religious commitment, region, income and education have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, liberals and conservatives, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 60: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Female Draft

Do you agree or disagree that there should be a draft for women for combat duty?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column*
General Public	25	7	68	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	32	9	59	
Low	28	6	66	
Moderate	22	8	70	
High	20	7	73	
Highest	22	5	73	10
Age				
14-20	30	10	60	
21-24	24	7	69	
25-34	28	10	62	
35-49	28	6	66	
50-64	21	6	73	
65 and over	16	4	80	14
Gender				
Male	28	7	65	
Female	23	7	70	5
Region				
Northeast	29	7	64	
West	28	8	64	
Midwest	24	7	69	
South	22	7	71	7
Place of Residence				
Large City	27	7	66	
Small City	24	6	70	
Suburb	26	8	66	
Rural	24	8	68	3
Race				
White	25	7	68	
Black	28	5	67	3
Income				
Under \$12,000.	26	5	69	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	24	9	67	
Above \$25,000.	25	6	69	1
Education				
11th grade or less	27	8	65	
High school graduate	22	6	72	
Some college or more	27	7	66	0
Political orientation				
Liberal	33	5	62	
Moderate	25	8	67	
Conservative	21	4	75	12
Party Affiliation				
Republican	23	6	71	
Democrat	25	8	67	
Independent/Other	28	6	66	2

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age, and political orientation have the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe there should be a draft for women for combat duty. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, and between those with different party affiliations.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 61: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Women's Rights

Do you favor or oppose efforts to strengthen women's rights in this country?

	Favor %	Oppose %	Percent Difference: "Favor" Column*
General Public	83	17	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	91	9	
Low	86	14	
Moderate	83	17	
High	75	25	
Highest	77	23	14
Age			
14-20	84	16	
21-24	84	16	
25-34	89	11	
35-49	83	17	
50-64	82	18	
65 and over	76	24	13
Gender			
Male	85	15	
Female	82	18	3
Region			
Northeast	88	12	
West	85	15	
Midwest	82	18	
South	81	19	7
Place of Residence			
Large City	86	14	
Small City	81	19	
Suburb	90	10	
Rural	81	19	5
Race			
White	84	16	
Black	83	17	1
Income			
Under \$12,000.	82	18	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	84	16	
Above \$25,000.	87	13	5
Education			
11th grade or less	79	21	
High school graduate	83	17	
Some college or more	89	11	10
Political orientation			
Liberal	87	13	
Moderate	86	14	
Conservative	79	21	8
Marital Status			
Single	86	14	
Married	82	18	4
Occupational Status			
Professional	88	12	
White-collar	84	16	
Blue-collar	81	19	7

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on whether or not Americans favor efforts to strengthen women's rights in this country. Place of residence, education, and political orientation have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, those who are single and married, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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There's a lack of family cohesion now, a product of the celebration of the individual. As a result, we're almost like strangers living in the same household.

Dr. Greer Litton Fox, 1980
Director, Wayne State University's
Family Resource Center

Challenged and buffeted as rarely before, the American family once again is changing to survive in a changing world.

U.S. News and World Report
June 16, 1980

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SURVIVAL OF THE FAMILY

At the same time that Americans are increasingly concerned with moral issues, as a nation we have witnessed the erosion of many of our traditional social institutions. In the past ten years, for example, the number of divorces has increased by an incredible 65%; the number of children living in one-parent homes has soared by 40%; and the number of people living alone is 58% greater than it was in 1970.*

The new individualism, the new morality, the new mobility, and the new woman have given a different meaning to the word freedom, an ideal that we as a nation have pursued -- in different ways and in different areas -- throughout our history. But it appears, as Alvin Toffler notes in The Third Wave, for many Americans "instead of being liberated, they suffer from overchoice and are wounded, embittered, plunged into a sorrow and loneliness intensified by the very multiplicity of their options"**.

This chapter explores what Americans are searching for in their interpersonal relationships today. What aspects of family life and friendship are most important to Americans? Has their ideal of marriage been altered by the social and economic changes of recent years? Are there

*"The American Family: Bent But Not Broken." U.S. News and World Report, June 16, 1980, p. 49.

**The Third Wave by Alvin Toffler, William Morrow, 1980.

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sharp divisions between different segments of the American populace in their attitudes toward marriage, friendship and family? And finally, what is it that affects the way they feel about their personal relationships?

Relationships: A Sense of Commitment

Despite rising divorce rates and other trends that threaten the family structure, Americans attach tremendous importance to interpersonal relationships. They also value certain types of relationships over others.

More than anything, Americans in the 1980s seem to want commitment in their relationships. "Going out of your way to help a friend" is given even more importance than "being with friends" (83% versus 69% rate these as very important). "Making new friends" is given lowest priority (56%).

A firm endorsement of the importance of family life is clear from the high ratings given to "sharing personal feelings with a spouse or intimate companion" (79%), "doing things as a family group" (74%), "playing with children" (69%), and "talking to older members of your family" (67%).

Taken as a whole, the pattern of responses show a sharp contrast between aspects of relationships that connote depth and stability (self-sacrifice and sharing) and those aspects which emphasize variety and perhaps a more outwardly "exciting" life (having rewarding sex and making new friends). The essence of American sentiment is presented in the contrast between the highest and lowest ranking items on the scale: beginning with "going out of the way to help a friend" (83%), and ending with "making new friends" (56%).

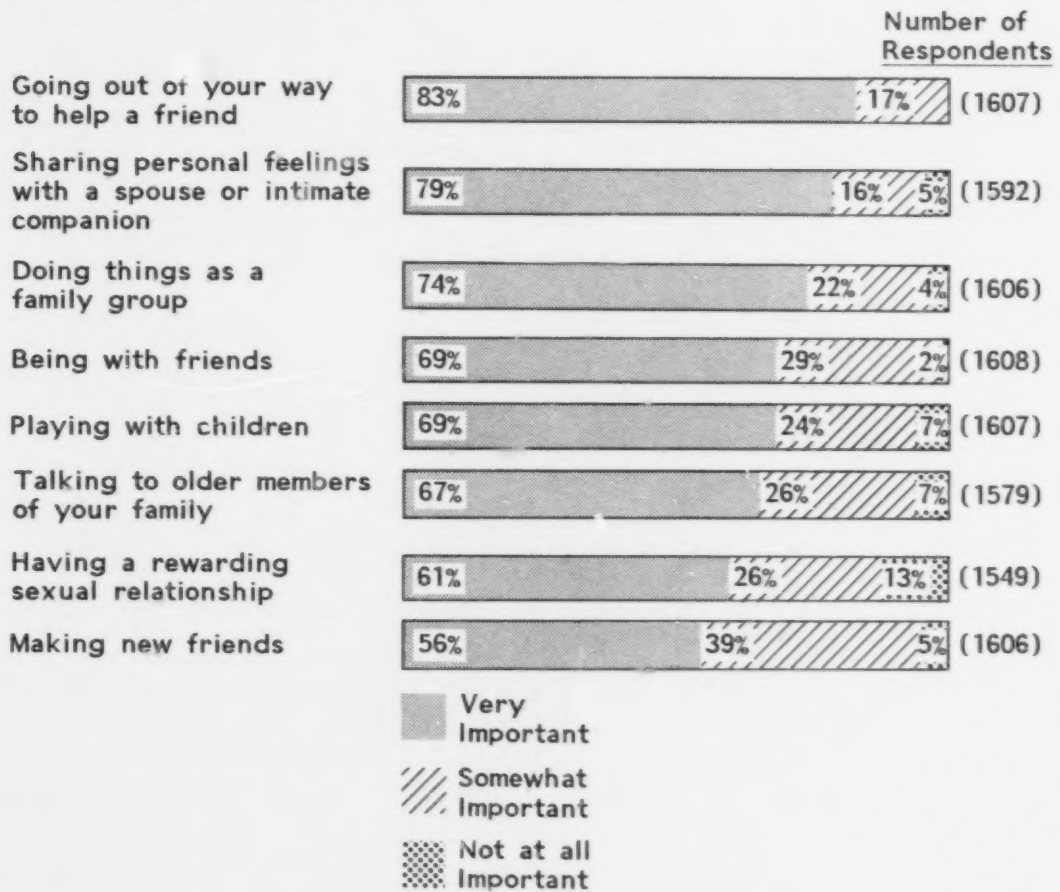
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In keeping with these priorities, Americans say that they derive much more satisfaction from their relationships with their intimate companion (63%), their immediate family (54%), and with their friends (42%) than from most other aspects of their life (See Table 9). Furthermore, if told that they had six months to live, three of every four Americans would say that their relationship with their immediate family (77%) and spouse or intimate companion (75%) would become more important to them. (See Table 10.)

Clearly, there is desire on the part of Americans to "reach within" by emphasizing existing relationships with family and friends, and markedly less desire to "reach out" for the stimulation of new interpersonal experiences.

Table 62: Personal Relationships

How important is each of the following to you?



Marriage and Divorce

The expressed desire for close family ties appears at odds with the statistical realities we have cited in the introduction to this chapter -- the soaring divorce rate, for example, as well as the increase of children raised in one-parent homes. The desire for close family ties also appears to be somewhat undermined by a changing view of marriage as a lasting commitment.

Investigating current attitudes toward divorce, we find that one out of two Americans (52%) feels that obtaining a divorce should be made more difficult, and only one out of five (21%) believes it should be made easier. When the concept of divorce is brought down to a more personal level, however, it is viewed by a majority as a solution to an unhappy marriage. Asked, "If you were unhappily married, would you try to reconcile problems at all cost, or would you try to work it out, but be prepared to seek a divorce if you did not succeed?" a majority (56%) express a willingness to seek divorce. When Americans are asked, "Do you feel that a couple who is unhappily married should stay together if they have young children?" 64% answer "no."

This acceptance of divorce is made more surprising by the results of a recent study* which found that a majority of Americans (67%) feel that the high number of divorces is due to people "not trying hard enough to stay together" rather than "outside pressures" (23%). People readily

*CBS News/New York Times survey, 1977, reported in Public Opinion, Dec./Jan. 1980, p. 32.

state that "trying hard" is necessary to keep a marriage together, but they do not seem to be willing to try as hard as in previous years, since, as already noted, the number of divorces has risen so dramatically in the past decade.

In this connection, it is sobering to note that when asked: "If you were given the choice, would you like to be married or would you prefer to be single?" 8% of married Americans reply that they would rather be single. (This 8%, in terms of the general population, translates into some 7,000,000 people.)

Table 63: Divorce

Should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now?

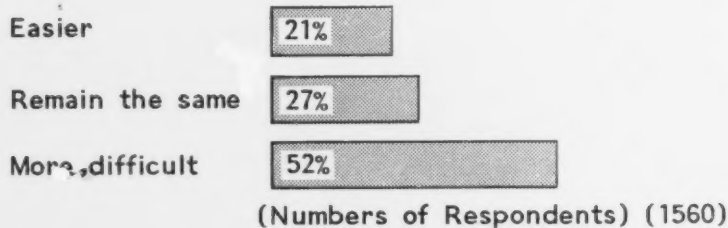
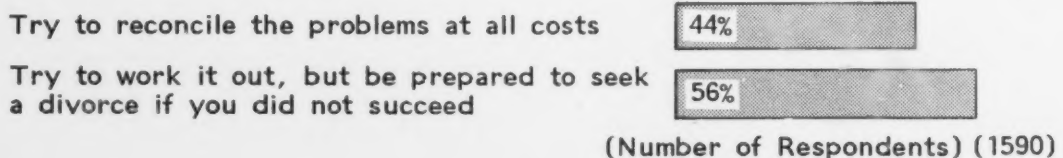


Table 64: Solution to Unhappy Marriage

If you were unhappily married, would you:



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Table 65: Divorce With Young Children

Do you feel that an unhappily married couple should stay together if they have young children?

Yes  36%

No  64%

(Number of Respondents) (1489)

Table 66: Marital Status and Marital Status Preference

<u>Marital Preference</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>		
	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Divorced/Widowed/ Separated</u>
	%	%	%
Married	91	26	38
Single	8	72	55
Don't Know	1	2	7
(Number of Respondents)	(1024)	(638)	(344)

The Marital Ideal

Just as the traditional view of marriage as a lasting bond enduring "till death do us part" appears to be undergoing a change in both American thought and practice, so too is another marital institution: the traditional nuclear family.

As a recent news article* proclaims, the "traditional" American family still portrayed by advertising, children's literature and popular movies now is in a minority. A scant 13% of the nation's families include a working father, a stay-at-home mother and one or more children.

The Connecticut Mutual Life Report set out to discover how Americans have adapted to the apparent inconsistency between the image of the traditional nuclear family and the reality of contemporary life. Do Americans still cling to the classical ideal of family even though as a nation they have largely ceased to live this lifestyle? Or have they adapted to new social and economic circumstances by reshaping our ideal of marriage and family? Have large numbers become disenchanted with the concept of marriage altogether, choosing to remain single or to live with someone without being married?

*"The American Family: Bent But Not Broken." U.S. News and World Report, June 16, 1980, p. 48.

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This survey finds there is a radical shift in the way people view marriage and family. As Table 67 indicates, the marital ideal marks a definite departure from the standard depiction of the typical family of television and advertising of the 1950s and 1960s, and even of the 1970s. The American marital tradition has shifted its former emphasis on male and female sex roles to an integrated, more egalitarian approach in which both husband and wife cooperate on providing for the family, homemaking, and child-raising. In fact, popular television sitcoms of the 1980s reflect these changes by routinely portraying serious marital problems, divorce, single-parent families, and working women.

Table 67: Preferred Marital Lifestyle

Ideally, which of the following four lifestyles would you prefer?

An equal marriage of shared responsibility in which the husband and wife cooperate on working, homemaking and child-raising	63%
---	-----

A traditional marriage in which the husband is responsible for providing for the family and the wife for the home and taking care of the children	29%
--	-----

Remaining single	5%
------------------	----

Living with someone but not marrying	3%
--------------------------------------	----

(Number of Respondents)	(1582)
-------------------------	--------

Consistent with the disappearance of the traditional family, both men and women say they would make a variety of changes in their careers in order to have and raise children. Although no more than half of either group say they would make any one sacrifice (50% of women would work limited hours in order to have more time for the children), 80% of women and 75% of men say that they have made or would be willing to make at least one of six specific traditional sacrifices.

Table 68: Gender and Career Sacrifices

What changes in your career would you be willing to make or have you made in order to have and raise children?

<u>Career Sacrifices</u>	<u>Female</u> %	<u>Male</u> %
Work limited hours in order to have more time for your children	50	40
Work more at home	46	41
Reduce the number of hours you work	42	32
Quit your job in order to become a full-time parent	40	8
Suppress or delay career ambitions	36	22
Take an unchallenging job that allows time and flexibility for your children	31	23
Take a second job or work overtime so that you can support your family	28	46
Hire outside help	23	25

Table 69: Gender and Index of Career Sacrifices

Willingness to Make Career Sacrifices for Children	Gender	
	Female %	Male %
Would make at least one sacrifice* to raise children	80	75
Would <u>not</u> make any career sacrifices* to raise children	20	25
(Number of Respondents)	(1255)	(742)

*This index is based only on the first six career sacrifices listed on Table 68.

Further evidence of the pervasiveness of the new marital ideal, and its link to both changing roles for women and the economic realities of the eighties, is seen in response to the question: "Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money if she has a husband who is capable of supporting her?" Both men and women approve in nearly equal numbers (80% and 78% respectively). Neither group, however, believes that a woman with young children should work outside the home unless financially necessary (74% of men and 71% of women).

Table 70: Married Women Earning Money

Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money if she has a husband who is capable of supporting her?

Approve 75%

Disapprove 20%

No opinion 5%

(Number of Respondents) (1608)

Impact of Religious Commitment

Once again, the preeminent factor influencing behavior and attitudes in interpersonal relationships is level of religious commitment. With striking consistency, the most religious among us place greater importance on the full range of family and friendship activities. They are far more likely than the least religious to say, for example, that it is very important to do things as a family group (93% versus 58%). The notable exception to this pattern is the importance attached to having a rewarding sexual relationship: the most religious Americans are slightly less likely than the least religious to believe this is very important (67% versus 56%). In addition:

- ° The most religious are more likely than the least religious to frequently visit with family and relatives (31% difference).
- ° The most religious are more likely to want to spend time talking with older members of their family (28% difference).
- ° They are more likely to derive satisfaction from their immediate family (25% difference).
- ° They are more likely to want to make new friends (21% difference).
- ° They are more likely to feel that it is important to go out of their way to help friends (18% difference).

The most religious are also much more likely than the least religious to favor a traditional marriage (41% versus 16%), and to feel that an unhappy marriage should be reconciled at all costs (60% versus 33%). In addition:

- ° The most religious are less likely to approve of a woman earning money if she has a husband who is capable of supporting her (25% difference).

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- ° They are more likely to feel that divorce should be made more difficult (33% difference).
- ° They are more likely to feel that an unhappily married couple should stay together if they have young children (34% difference).
- ° They are more likely to feel that a woman with young children should not work outside the home unless it is financially necessary (27% difference).

Other Factors

There are other factors that predict interpersonal attitudes and behavior, but not as strongly or as consistently as religious commitment. There is, for example, general agreement between older and younger Americans about the importance of family and friendship ties, although young people 14 to 20 years of age show some distinct differences from other age groups. Young Americans place higher importance on being with friends and making new friends than do older people, and they are the least likely to attach high importance to going out of their way to help a friend or to doing things as a family group. It is young and middle-aged Americans (21 to 49 years of age) who place the greatest importance on having a rewarding sexual relationship. And finally, older Americans are most likely to favor a traditional marriage, disapprove of a woman earning money if she has a husband capable of supporting her, believe that divorce should be made more difficult, and feel that an unhappily married couple should stay together if they have young children.

Other diverse yet interesting differences between various groups of Americans include:

- Women are more likely than men to say that playing with children is important to them (14% difference).
- The most affluent are more likely than the least affluent to place importance on a satisfying sexual relationship (18% difference).
- Married Americans are more likely than single people to favor a traditional marriage (18% difference). Conservatives are also more likely than liberals to feel this way.

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- ° The most affluent and the most educated are particularly likely to approve of a woman earning money even if she has a husband who is capable of supporting her (22% and 20% differences). Those fifty years and older are also likely to feel this way.
- ° Blacks and single people are more likely to feel that divorce should be made easier.
- ° Males are more likely than females, and the least affluent are more likely than the most affluent, to feel that an unhappy couple should stay together if they have young children.
- ° The least affluent and least educated, conservatives, and married Americans are far more likely than their counterparts to feel that a woman with young children should not work outside the home unless it is financially necessary.

Table 71: Factors Affecting Perceived Importance of Doing Things as Family

How important to you is doing things as a family group?

	Very Important %	Somewhat Important %	Not at all Important %	Percent Difference: "Very Important" Column*
General Public	74	22	4	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	58	34	8	
Low	67	28	5	
Moderate	81	17	2	
High	84	14	2	
Highest	93	6	1	35
Age				
14-20	58	37	5	
21-24	69	27	4	
25-34	76	21	3	
35-49	81	16	3	
50-64	80	17	3	
65 and over	77	17	6	23
Gender				
Male	68	27	5	
Female	80	17	3	12
Region				
Northeast	71	24	4	
West	70	25	5	
Midwest	75	21	4	
South	77	20	3	7
Place of Residence				
Large City	71	23	6	
Small City	74	22	4	
Suburb	72	24	4	
Rural	80	17	3	9
Race				
White	73	23	4	
Black	79	19	2	6
Income				
Under \$12,000.	76	19	5	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	73	23	4	
Above \$25,000.	73	24	3	3
Education				
11th grade or less	77	19	4	
High school graduate	76	21	3	
Some college or more	68	28	4	9
Political orientation				
Liberal	69	26	5	
Moderate	73	23	4	
Conservative	79	18	3	10
Marital Status				
Single	56	37	7	
Married	85	14	1	29
Occupation Status				
Professional	72	24	4	
White-collar	69	27	4	
Blue-collar	78	20	2	9

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age, and marital status have the greatest impact on the degree of importance Americans place on doing things as a family group. Gender, place of residence, education, political orientation and occupational status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those living in different regions of the country, Whites and Blacks, and between the least and most affluent.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 72: Factors Affecting Perceived Importance of Playing With Children

How important to you is playing with children?

	Very Important %	Somewhat Important %	Not at all Important %	Percent Difference: "Very Important" Column*
General Public	69	24	7	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	52	34	14	
Low	63	30	7	
Moderate	76	19	5	
High	80	18	2	
Highest	83	14	3	31
Age				
14-20	53	39	8	
21-24	73	22	5	
25-34	74	19	7	
35-49	74	21	5	
50-64	70	23	7	
65 and over	71	20	9	21
Gender				
Male	62	29	9	
Female	76	19	5	14
Region				
Northeast	68	24	8	
West	66	26	8	
Midwest	66	28	6	
South	73	20	7	7
Place of Residence				
Large City	65	26	9	
Small City	69	21	7	
Suburb	68	26	6	
Rural	74	21	5	9
Race				
White	67	26	7	
Black	79	18	3	12
Income				
Under \$12,000.	74	20	6	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	68	26	6	
Above \$25,000.	66	27	7	8
Education				
11th grade or less	72	22	6	
High school graduate	72	22	6	
Some college or more	63	29	8	9
Political orientation				
Liberal	69	25	6	
Moderate	68	26	6	
Conservative	71	23	6	2
Marital Status				
Single	54	35	11	
Married	77	19	4	23
Occupational Status				
Professional	63	29	8	
White-collar	63	29	8	
Blue-collar	75	20	5	12

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age, and marital status have the greatest impact on the degree of importance Americans place on playing with children. Gender, place of residence, race, income, education, and occupational status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those living in different regions of the country and between liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 73: Factors Affecting Perceived Importance of Talking With Older Family Members

How important is it to you to talk with older members of your family?

	Very Important %	Somewhat Important %	Not at all Important %	Percent Difference "Very Important" Column* %
General Public	67	26	7	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	52	42	6	
Low	64	30	6	
Moderate	72	20	8	
High	74	19	7	
Highest	80	15	5	28
Age				
14-20	56	42	2	
21-24	71	25	4	
25-35	71	26	3	
35-49	74	23	3	
50-64	70	23	7	
65 and over	57	18	25	18
Gender				
Male	60	33	7	
Female	73	20	7	13
Region				
Northeast	63	31	6	
West	69	22	9	
Midwest	66	27	7	
South	70	25	5	7
Place of Residence				
Large city	67	26	6	
Small city	65	28	7	
Suburb	67	28	5	
Rural	69	24	7	4
Race				
White	66	27	7	
Black	74	20	6	8
Income				
Under \$12,000	70	21	9	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	67	28	5	
Above \$25,000	65	30	5	5
Education				
11th grade or less	66	26	8	
High School graduate	71	23	6	
Some college or more	63	32	5	3
Political orientation				
Liberal	65	29	6	
Moderate	66	27	7	
Conservative	69	25	6	4
Marital Status				
Single	59	38	3	
Married	72	22	6	13
Occupational Status				
Professional	63	32	5	
White-collar	66	30	4	
Blue-collar	71	25	4	8

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on the degree of importance Americans place on talking to older members of their family. Age, gender, and marital status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, liberals and conservatives, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 74: Factors Affecting Perceived Importance of Making New Friends

How import to you is making new friends?

	Very Important %	Somewhat Important %	Not at all Important %	Percent Difference: "Very Important" Column*
<u>General Public</u>	56	39	5	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	45	51	4	
Low	54	40	6	
Moderate	58	39	3	
High	66	31	3	
Highest	66	27	7	21
<u>Age</u>				
14-20	70	29	1	
21-24	64	35	1	
25-34	49	48	3	
35-49	47	47	6	
50-64	53	40	7	
65 and over	62	28	10	23
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	55	40	5	
Female	58	38	4	3
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	52	43	5	
West	53	40	7	
Midwest	56	40	4	
South	62	33	5	10
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large city	59	36	5	
Small city	53	41	6	
Suburb	56	38	6	
Rural	58	39	3	6
<u>Race</u>				
White	56	40	4	
Black	58	32	10	2
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	61	33	6	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	53	43	4	
Above \$25,000	53	45	2	8
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	62	33	5	
High school graduate	57	38	5	
Some college or more	50	46	4	12
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	56	38	6	
Moderate	56	40	4	
Conservative	57	38	5	1
<u>Marital Status</u>				
Single	64	34	2	
Married	52	43	5	12
<u>Occupational Status</u>				
Professional	51	46	3	
White-collar	57	39	4	
Blue-collar	59	38	3	8

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on the degree of importance Americans place on making new friends. Region, income, education, marital status and occupational status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, and between liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 75: Factors Affecting Perceived Importance of Helping A Friend

How important is it to you to go out of your way to help a friend?

	Very Important %	Somewhat Important %	Not at all Important %	Percent Difference: "Very Important" Column* %
General Public	83	17	0	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	71	29	0	
Low	80	19	1	
Moderate	87	13	0	
High	91	9	0	
Highest	89	10	1	18
<u>Age</u>				
12-20	75	25	0	
21-24	77	22	1	
25-34	84	15	1	
35-49	84	16	0	
50-64	87	13	0	
65 and over	87	12	1	12
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	78	21	1	
Female	87	13	0	9
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	81	18	1	
West	83	17	0	
Midwest	82	18	0	
South	85	14	1	4
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large city	79	21	0	
Small city	82	17	1	
Suburb	84	16	0	
Rural	86	14	0	7
<u>Race</u>				
White	84	16	0	
Black	77	21	2	7
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000	87	12	1	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	81	19	0	
Above \$25,000.	82	18	0	5
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	83	17	0	
High school graduate	84	15	1	
Some college or more	81	19	0	2
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	84	15	1	
Moderate	82	18	0	
Conservative	84	16	0	0
<u>Marital Status</u>				
Single	76	23	1	
Married	84	16	0	8
<u>Occupational Status</u>				
Professional	81	19	0	
White-collar	78	22	0	
Blue-collar	82	18	0	4

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on the degree of importance Americans place on going out of their way to help a friend. Gender and marital status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, liberals and conservatives, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 76: Factors Affecting Perceived Importance of Being with Friends

How important to you is being with friends?

	Very Important %	Somewhat Important %	Not at all Important %	Percent Difference: "Very Important" Column*
General Public	69	29	2	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	61	37	2	
Low	68	30	2	
Moderate	69	29	2	
High	74	24	2	
Highest	78	21	1	17
<u>Age</u>				
14-20	82	16	2	
21-24	69	29	2	
25-34	66	33	1	
35-49	62	36	2	
50-64	63	36	1	
65 and over	76	21	3	20
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	67	30	3	
Female	71	28	1	4
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	67	31	2	
West	66	32	2	
Midwest	70	28	2	
South	71	27	2	5
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large City	66	31	3	
Small City	69	29	2	
Suburb	69	29	2	
Rural	72	27	1	6
<u>Race</u>				
White	71	28	1	
Black	55	39	6	16
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	70	28	2	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	67	31	2	
Above \$25,000.	65	34	1	5
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	73	25	2	
High school graduate	70	28	2	
Some college or more	64	35	1	9
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	66	31	3	
Moderate	69	30	1	
Conservative	71	27	2	5
<u>Marital Status</u>				
Single	77	22	1	
Married	64	35	1	13
<u>Occupational Status</u>				
Professional	68	30	2	
White-collar	68	30	2	
Blue-collar	66	32	2	2

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age, and race have the greatest impact on the degree of importance Americans place on being with friends. Education and marital status have a lesser, but still, significant impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, the least and most affluent, liberals and conservatives, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 77: Factors Affecting Perceived Importance of Sharing Feelings With Spouse

How important to you is sharing personal feelings with a spouse or intimate companion?

	Very Important %	Somewhat Important %	Not at all Important %	Percent Difference: "Very Important" Column*
General Public	79	16	5	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	73	19	8	
Low	78	18	4	
Moderate	80	14	6	
High	82	14	4	
Highest	84	12	4	11
Age				
14-20	75	21	4	
21-24	84	14	2	
25-34	84	14	2	
35-49	83	12	5	
50-64	77	18	5	
65 and over	68	19	13	16
Gender				
Male	77	19	4	
Female	80	14	6	3
Region				
Northeast	77	18	5	
West	77	18	5	
Midwest	78	16	6	
South	81	15	4	4
Place of Residence				
Large city	79	17	4	
Small city	75	19	6	
Suburb	81	13	6	
Rural	79	16	5	6
Race				
White	79	16	5	
Black	78	15	7	1
Income				
Under \$12,00.	77	15	8	
\$12,00 to \$25,000.	80	17	3	
Above \$25,000.	81	16	3	4
Education				
11th grade or less	76	17	7	
High school graduate	80	15	5	
Some college or more	81	16	3	5
Political orientation				
Liberal	78	18	4	
Moderate	79	15	6	
Conservative	78	17	5	0
Marital Status				
Single	72	23	5	
Married	87	12	1	15
Occupational Status				
Professional	80	17	3	
White-collar	82	14	4	
Blue-collar	79	17	4	3

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age, and marital status have the greatest impact on the degree of importance Americans place on sharing personal feelings with a spouse or intimate companion. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, liberals and conservatives, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 78: Factors Affecting Perceived Importance of A Rewarding Sexual Relationship

How important to you is having a rewarding sexual relationship?

	Very Important %	Somewhat Important %	Not at all Important %	Percent Difference: "Very Important" Column*
General Public	61	26	12	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	67	29	4	
Low	66	25	9	
Moderate	60	28	12	
High	52	28	20	
Highest	56	18	26	11
Age				
14-20	53	38	9	
21-24	72	25	3	
25-34	74	24	2	
35-49	77	19	4	
50-64	53	30	17	
65 and over	34	21	45	43
Gender				
Male	68	26	6	
Female	55	26	19	13
Region				
Northeast	64	25	11	
West	61	29	10	
Midwest	57	29	14	
South	63	23	14	7
Place of Residence				
Large City	63	27	10	
Small City	59	26	15	
Suburb	67	24	9	
Rural	59	26	15	8
Race				
White	62	26	12	
Black	57	31	12	5
Income				
Under \$12,000.	52	23	25	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	68	26	6	
Above \$25,000.	70	25	5	18
Education				
11th grade or less	54	25	21	
High school graduate	64	27	9	
Some college or more	66	27	7	12
Political orientation				
Liberal	64	27	9	
Moderate	62	26	12	
Conservative	62	24	14	2
Marital Status				
Single	56	34	10	
Married	70	25	5	14
Occupational Status				
Professional	67	28	5	
White-collar	68	25	7	
Blue-collar	66	27	7	2

This table shows that age has the greatest impact on the degree of importance Americans place on having a rewarding sexual relationship. Level of religious commitment, gender, income, education, and marital status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, liberals and conservatives, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 79: Factors Affecting Frequency of Visiting With Relatives

How frequently do you visit with family and relatives?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
General Public	58	39	3	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	40	55	5	
Low	57	40	3	
Moderate	61	37	2	
High	64	33	3	
Highest	71	27	2	31
<u>Age</u>				
14-20	49	49	2	
21-24	63	34	3	
25-34	55	41	4	
35-49	56	42	2	
50-64	66	30	4	
65 and over	58	37	5	17
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	52	44	4	
Female	62	35	3	10
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	61	36	3	
West	54	42	4	
Midwest	61	37	2	
South	55	41	4	7
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large city	53	44	3	
Small city	60	36	4	
Suburb	54	44	2	
Rural	62	35	3	9
<u>Race</u>				
White	57	40	3	
Black	65	31	4	8
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	59	38	3	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	58	40	2	
Above \$25,000	55	43	2	4
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	56	40	4	
High School graduate	63	34	3	
Some college or more	52	45	3	4
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	57	40	3	
Moderate	58	40	2	
Conservative	57	40	3	0
<u>Marital Status</u>				
Single	49	48	3	
Married	63	35	2	14
<u>Occupational Status</u>				
Professional	56	42	2	
White-collar	54	44	2	
Blue-collar	59	38	3	5

Level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on the frequency with which Americans visit family and relatives. Age, gender, place of residence, race, and marital status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those living in different regions of the country, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, liberals and conservatives, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 80: Factors Affecting Perceived Satisfaction From Family

How much satisfaction do you receive from your relationship with your immediate family compared with other aspects of your life?

	Much More %	Somewhat More %	Somewhat Less %	Much Less %	Percent Difference: "Much More" Column*
General Public	55	33	10	2	
Level of Religious Commitment					
Lowest	39	45	14	2	
Low	54	34	10	2	
Moderate	61	28	10	1	
High	62	29	7	2	
Highest	64	31	5	0	25
Age					
14-20	48	39	10	3	
21-24	49	38	12	1	
25-34	47	36	14	3	
35-49	59	32	9	0	
50-64	62	30	7	1	
65 and over	66	27	5	2	19
Gender					
Male	52	34	12	2	
Female	59	33	8	0	7
Region					
Northeast	54	36	10	0	
West	53	34	12	1	
Midwest	56	35	8	1	
South	58	30	10	2	5
Place of Residence					
Large city	56	32	11	1	
Small city	55	34	8	3	
Suburb	55	33	11	1	
Rural	57	34	8	1	2
Race					
White	54	35	10	1	
Black	62	26	10	2	8
Income					
Under \$12,000	59	30	8	3	
\$12,000 to \$25,000	54	36	10	0	
Above \$25,000	53	34	12	1	6
Education					
11th grade or less	60	31	7	2	
High school graduate	58	33	8	1	
Some college or more	47	37	14	2	13
Political orientation					
Liberal	53	36	10	1	
Moderate	54	34	10	2	
Conservative	59	30	10	1	6
Marital Status					
Single	48	37	13	2	
Married	57	34	8	1	9
Occupational Status					
Professional	53	36	10	1	
White-collar	49	37	12	2	
Blue-collar	56	32	10	2	7

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on the degree of satisfaction Americans derive from relationships with immediate family. Race, education, and marital status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, the least and most affluent, liberals and conservatives and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 81: Factors Affecting Perceived Satisfaction of Relationship With Spouse

How much satisfaction do you receive from your relationship with your spouse or intimate companion compared with other aspects of your life?

	Much More %	Somewhat More %	Somewhat Less %	Much Less %	Percent Difference: "Much More" Column*
General Public	63	26	7	4	
Level of Religious Commitment					
Lowest	57	30	8	5	
Low	61	28	7	4	
Moderate	66	25	6	3	
High	68	24	4	4	
Highest	67	23	5	5	10
Age					
14-20	57	31	8	4	
21-24	67	24	7	2	
25-34	60	28	9	3	
35-49	67	25	5	3	
50-64	64	25	6	5	
65 and over	67	22	3	8	10
Gender					
Male	64	28	6	2	
Female	63	24	7	6	1
Region					
Northeast	64	28	4	4	
West	63	25	8	4	
Midwest	62	27	7	4	
South	64	25	7	4	2
Place of Residence					
Large city	63	25	9	3	
Small city	60	27	7	6	
Suburb	68	24	5	3	8
Rural	66	25	5	4	
Race					
White	64	26	6	4	
Black	56	30	10	4	8
Income					
Under \$12,000.	60	26	8	6	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	66	26	4	4	
Above \$25,000.	66	25	7	2	6
Education					
11th grade or less	61	30	6	3	
High school graduate	67	23	6	4	
Some college or more	61	27	8	4	0
Political orientation					
Liberal	62	25	8	5	
Moderate	62	28	6	4	
Conservative	68	24	5	3	6
Marital Status					
Single	52	34	9	5	
Married	73	22	4	1	21
Occupational Status					
Professional	61	28	8	3	
White-collar	62	29	4	5	
Blue-collar	69	22	6	3	8

This table reveals that marital status has the greatest impact on the level of satisfaction Americans derive from their relationship with their spouse or intimate companion. Level of religious commitment, age, place of residence, race, and occupational status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, and between liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 82: Factors Affecting Perceived Satisfaction of Relationship With Friends

How much satisfaction do you receive from your relationships with friends compared with other aspects of your life?

	Much More %	Somewhat More %	Somewhat Less %	Much Less %	Percent Difference: "Much More" Column*
General Public	42	45	12	1	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>					
Lowest	44	45	10	1	
Low	41	47	11	1	
Moderate	41	44	14	1	
High	41	47	10	2	
Highest	44	41	14	1	0
<u>Age</u>					
14-20	56	39	3	2	
21-24	43	46	10	1	
25-34	38	47	14	1	
35-49	29	53	17	1	
50-64	38	48	12	2	
65 and over	53	36	10	1	27
<u>Gender</u>					
Male	42	44	12	2	
Female	42	47	10	1	0
<u>Region</u>					
Northeast	42	48	9	1	
West	44	42	13	1	
Midwest	39	48	12	1	
South	43	43	12	2	5
<u>Place of Residence</u>					
Large city	46	43	10	1	
Small city	39	45	13	3	
Suburb	45	46	9	0	
Rural	40	47	13	0	7
<u>Race</u>					
White	42	46	11	1	
Black	38	44	16	2	4
<u>Income</u>					
Under \$12,000.	47	42	9	2	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	37	49	13	1	
Above \$25,000.	35	48	16	1	12
<u>Education</u>					
11th grade or less	44	44	10	2	
High school graduate	43	44	12	1	6
Some college or more	32	48	13	1	
<u>Political orientation</u>					
Liberal	43	45	11	1	
Moderate	41	45	13	1	
Conservative	41	47	11	1	2
<u>Marital Status</u>					
Single	54	39	6	1	
Married	33	50	16	1	21
<u>Occupational Status</u>					
Professional	39	48	13	0	
White-collar	36	48	15	1	
Blue-collar	41	45	12	2	5

This table reveals that age and marital status have the greatest impact on the degree of satisfaction Americans derive from relationships with friends. Income has a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those with different levels of religious commitment, men and women, those living in different regions of the country, urban and rural dwellers, Whites and Blacks, the least and most educated, liberals and conservatives, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 83: Factors Affecting Preferred Marital Lifestyle

Ideally, which of the following four lifestyles would you prefer?

	Traditional Marriage %	Shared Marriage %	Living with Someone %	Single %	Percent Difference: "Traditional" Column*
General Public	29	63	3	5	
Level of Religious Commitment					
Lowest	16	71	6	7	
Low	27	65	3	5	
Moderate	30	65	1	4	
High	40	55	1	4	
Highest	41	56	0	3	25
Age					
14-20	15	74	6	5	
21-24	15	72	5	8	
25-34	22	69	4	5	
35-49	30	63	3	4	
50-64	45	52	0	3	
65 and over	52	54	0	4	37
Gender					
Male	29	62	4	5	
Female	29	65	2	4	0
Region					
Northeast	27	63	4	6	
West	23	71	2	4	
Midwest	26	67	3	4	
South	36	58	2	4	13
Place of Residence					
Large city	27	64	3	6	
Small city	30	61	4	5	
Suburb	24	69	2	5	
Rural	35	61	2	2	11
Race					
White	30	63	3	4	
Black	22	67	3	8	8
Income					
Under \$12,000	33	59	3	5	
\$12,000 to \$25,000	26	65	4	5	
Above \$25,000	33	63	2	2	0
Education					
11th grade or less	32	60	3	5	
High School Graduate	32	61	3	4	
Some college or more	22	70	3	5	10
Political orientation					
Liberal	19	69	5	7	
Moderate	27	67	2	4	
Conservative	38	58	2	2	19
Marital Status					
Single	16	69	7	8	
Married	34	64	1	1	18
Occupational Status					
Professional	24	69	4	3	
White-collar	26	63	3	8	
Blue-collar	29	64	3	4	5

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on Americans' preference for a traditional marriage. Region, place of residence, race, education, political orientation, and marital status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, the least and most affluent and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 84: Factors Affecting Willingness to Reconcile Marriage

If you were unhappily married, would you:

	Try to reconcile the problem at all costs %	Try to work it out but be prepared to seek a divorce if you did not succeed %	Percent Difference: "Reconcile Problem" Column* %
General Public	44	56	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	33	67	
Low	38	62	
Moderate	45	55	
High	58	42	
Highest	60	40	27
Age			
14-20	46	54	
21-24	45	55	
25-34	39	61	
35-49	41	59	
50-64	45	55	
65 and over	53	47	14
Gender			
Male	46	54	
Female	43	57	3
Region			
Northeast	40	60	
West	38	62	
Midwest	50	50	
South	46	54	12
Place of Residence			
Large city	41	59	
Small city	45	55	
Suburb	46	54	
Rural	48	52	7
Race			
White	46	54	
Black	34	66	12
Income			
Under \$12,000.	46	54	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	46	54	
Above \$25,000.	41	59	5
Education			
11th grade or less	46	54	
High school graduate	46	54	
Some college or more	40	60	6
Political orientation			
Liberal	41	59	
Moderate	42	58	
Conservative	50	50	9
Marital Status			
Single	42	58	
Married	49	51	7
Occupational Status			
Professional	40	60	
White-collar	48	52	
Blue-collar	45	55	8

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on whether Americans feel that if they were unhappily married they would try to reconcile their problems at all costs. Age, region, race, political orientation and occupational status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, urban and rural dwellers, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, and between those who are single and married.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 85: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Working Women

Do you approve or disapprove of a woman earning money if she has a husband who is capable of supporting her?

	Approve %	Disapprove %	Percent Difference: "Approve" Column*
General Public	79	21	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	91	9	
Low	83	17	
Moderate	77	23	
High	69	31	
Highest	66	34	25
Age			
14-20	86	14	
21-24	91	9	
25-34	85	15	
35-49	84	16	
50-64	72	28	
65 and over	56	44	35
Gender			
Male	80	20	
Female	78	22	2
Region			
Northeast	83	17	
West	80	20	
Midwest	75	25	
South	79	21	8
Place of Residence			
Large City	83	17	
Small City	77	23	
Suburb	84	16	
Rural	75	25	9
Race			
White	80	20	
Black	78	22	2
Income			
Under \$12,000.	67	33	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	83	17	
Above \$25,000.	89	11	22
Education			
11th grade or less	70	30	
High school graduate	78	22	
Some college or more	90	10	20
Political orientation			
Liberal	84	16	
Moderate	80	20	
Conservative	77	23	7
Marital Status			
Single	87	13	
Married	79	21	8
Occupation Status			
Professional	89	11	
White-collar	80	20	
Blue-collar	80	20	9

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age, income, and education have the greatest impact on whether or not Americans approve of a woman earning money if she has a husband who is capable of supporting her. Region, place of residence, marital status, and occupational status have a lesser, but still significant impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, Whites and Blacks, and between liberals and conservatives.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 86: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Divorce

Should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now?

	More Difficult %	Remain the same %	Easier %	Percent Difference: "More Difficult" Column*
General Public	52	27	21	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	36	30	34	
Low	44	33	23	
Moderate	60	22	18	
High	65	21	14	
Highest	69	19	12	33
<u>Age</u>				
14-20	42	28	30	
21-24	45	26	29	
25-34	43	33	24	
35-49	56	23	21	
50-64	59	25	16	
65 and over	68	24	8	26
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	48	28	24	
Female	56	26	18	8
<u>Region</u>				
Northeast	48	26	26	
West	45	31	24	
Midwest	57	27	16	
South	56	24	20	12
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Large City	46	27	27	
Small City	58	24	18	
Suburb	47	33	20	
Rural	55	25	20	12
<u>Race</u>				
White	54	27	19	
Black	41	25	34	13
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	55	24	21	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	55	26	19	
Above \$25,000.	47	30	23	8
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	57	22	21	
High school graduate	55	25	20	
Some college or more	43	34	23	14
<u>Political orientation</u>				
Liberal	43	26	31	
Moderate	52	29	19	
Conservative	59	25	16	16
<u>Marital Status</u>				
Single	43	27	30	
Married	58	27	15	15
<u>Occupational Status</u>				
Professional	48	29	23	
White-collar	55	23	22	
Blue-collar	49	28	23	7

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on whether Americans feel that divorce in this country should be more difficult to obtain than it is now. Region, place of residence, race, education, political orientation, and marital status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is a comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, the least and most affluent, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Table 87: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Unhappy Couple With Children Staying Together

Staying Together			
Do you feel that an unhappily married couple should stay together if they have young children?			
	Yes %	No %	Percent Difference: "Yes" Column* %
General Public	36	64	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	24	76	
Low	31	69	
Moderate	35	65	
High	45	55	
Highest	58	42	34
Age			
14-20	42	58	
21-24	28	72	
25-34	27	73	
35-49	29	71	
50-64	36	64	
65 and over	54	46	27
Gender			
Male	43	57	
Female	29	71	14
Region			
Northeast	35	65	
West	30	70	
Midwest	38	62	
South	37	63	8
Place of Residence			
Large City	30	70	
Small City	36	64	
Suburb	33	67	
Rural	42	58	12
Race			
White	36	64	
Black	33	67	3
Income			
Under \$12,000.	42	58	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	34	66	
Above \$25,000.	27	73	15
Education			
11th grade or less	40	60	
High school graduate	35	65	
Some college or more	32	68	8
Political orientation			
Liberal	33	67	
Moderate	32	68	
Conservative	42	58	9
Marital Status			
Single	39	61	
Married	36	64	3
Occupational Status			
Professional	29	71	
White-collar	37	63	
Blue-collar	35	65	8

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on whether Americans believe that an unhappily married couple should stay together if they have young children. Gender, region, income, education, and political orientation and occupational status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between Whites and Blacks, and between those who are single and married.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

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Table 88: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Working Mothers

A woman with young children should not work outside the home unless it is financially necessary.

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference: "Agree" Column* %
General Public	72	5	23	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	60	7	33	
Low	69	5	26	
Moderate	72	5	23	
High	82	4	14	
Highest	87	3	10	27
Age				
14-20	65	7	28	
21-24	58	7	35	
25-34	59	6	35	
35-49	76	3	21	
50-64	84	3	13	
65 and over	86	4	10	28
Gender				
Male	74	5	21	
Female	71	5	24	3
Region				
Northeast	70	5	25	
West	70	6	24	
Midwest	72	5	23	
South	75	5	20	5
Place of Residence				
Large city	65	8	27	
Small City	77	3	20	
Suburb	68	7	25	
Rural	76	3	21	12
Race				
White	72	5	23	
Black	72	3	25	0
Income				
Under \$12,000.	81	4	15	
\$12,000 to \$25,000.	69	5	26	
Above \$25,000.	67	6	27	14
Education				
11th grade or less	79	4	17	
High school graduate	75	5	20	
Some college or more	60	7	33	19
Political orientation				
Liberal	63	7	30	
Moderate	72	5	23	
Conservative	78	4	18	15
Marital Status				
Single	62	6	32	
Married	76	4	20	14
Occupational Status				
Professional	65	5	30	
White-collar	67	5	28	
Blue-collar	73	5	22	8

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe a woman with young children should not work outside the home unless it is financially necessary. Place of residence, income, education, political orientation, and marital status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, those living in different regions of the country, Whites and Blacks, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

Chapter Five:
Survival of The American Work Ethic

His (man's) work gives him a secure place in a portion of reality, in the human community.

Sigmund Freud
Civilization and Its Discontents,
1962

The desire to perform well, the feeling of craftsmanship, the sense of vocation, which has been quite intense in this society for a long time, has, it seems to me, begun to fade in the last ten, perhaps twenty years. It seems to be fading faster and faster.

Richard Hofstadter
Newsweek, July 6, 1970

(Work) is a search for daily meaning as well as daily bread, for recognition as well as cash, for astonishment rather than torpor; in short, for a sort of life rather than a Monday through Friday sort of dying. Perhaps immortality, too, is part of the quest.

Studs Terkel
Working, 1974

CHAPTER FIVE
SURVIVAL OF THE AMERICAN WORK ETHIC

Most Americans spend more than a third of their waking hours at their place of business, and untold additional hours commuting to and thinking about their jobs.

The Connecticut Mutual Life Report finds that the American work ethic remains a meaningful force to most Americans. Three out of every four American workers say they frequently feel a sense of dedication to their work (76%) and frequently find their work interesting (73%). In addition, 68% frequently feel that their work contributes to society. Perhaps most important, four out of every five Americans (80%) believe that America offers an opportunity for financial security to all those willing to work hard.

It is important to note, however, that Americans say they receive more satisfaction from their personal relationships and from religion than they do from work, although their work does give them as much satisfaction as their nonwork hours (leisure time) (see Table 9). It may be that this satisfaction is neither deeply rooted, nor essential to the fulfillment of the life ambition of most Americans, since with only six months to live work is the only aspect of life that people say would dramatically decrease in importance (see Table 10). One out of every four Americans say they would eliminate work from their life altogether if they only had six months to live, and another 37% say their work would decrease in importance.

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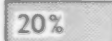
An investigation as to why so many Americans nonetheless feel satisfied with their job reveals that most workers believe it frequently offers them an opportunity to perform well (91%), to assume responsibility (84%), to see a project through from start to finish (78%), to work with others toward a common goal (73%), and to have a say in decisions (58%). While these statistics do seem to contradict the growing sense in America that workers are no longer as committed or involved in their work as they once were, it should be noted that only 41% say they frequently receive recognition from their efforts, only 30% believe they frequently are guided by the person to whom they report, and only 29% believe they frequently have an opportunity for advancement.

The finding that a quarter of American workers never feel guided by their superior and almost a third never feel they have an opportunity for advancement perhaps helps to explain America's declining productivity in recent years.

Table 89: Financial Security For All Those Willing to Work Hard

Do you believe American offers an opportunity for financial security to all those willing to work hard?

Yes  80%

No  20%

(Number of Respondents) (1549)

Table 90: Job Related Activities and Experiences

How often do you experience each of the following job related activities and experiences?

	<u>Frequently</u> %	<u>Occasionally</u> %	<u>Never</u> %	<u>Number of Respondents</u> %
Doing a job well	91	9	0	(837)
Assuming responsibility	84	14	2	(837)
Seeing a project through from start to finish	76	21	3	(837)
Finding your work interesting	73	21	6	(836)
Working with others toward a common goal	73	20	7	(837)
Feeling that your work contributes to society	68	24	8	(834)
Having a say in decisions	58	34	8	(831)
Receiving recognition for your efforts	41	48	11	(831)
Being guided by the person to whom you report	30	45	25	(811)
Having an opportunity for advancement	29	40	31	(821)
Feeling pressured about your job	29	39	32	(833)
Feeling bored	16	43	42	(838)

Impact of Religious Commitment

Once again, religious commitment has a remarkably strong impact on American life. Those who are most committed to religion are substantially more positive about their work than the least religious. Forty-two percent (42%) of the most religious American workers, for example, say they receive much more satisfaction from work than from other aspects of their life, compared with 24% of the least religious.

Table 51: Level of Religious Commitment and Satisfaction Derived from Work

Satisfaction with work compared to other areas of life	Degree of Religious Involvement				
	Lowest %	Low %	Moderate %	High %	Highest %
Much More	24	27	35	29	42
Somewhat More	51	48	37	51	41
Somewhat Less	20	19	20	18	12
Much Less	5	6	8	2	5
(Number of Respondents	(191)	(284)	(200)	(111)	(73)

Further analysis emphasizes the dramatic impact of religious commitment on work. Ninety-seven percent (97%) of the most religious, for example, feel a sense of dedication to their work, compared with only 66% of the least religious. Furthermore:

- ° The most religious are more likely than the least religious to feel that their work contributes to society (91% versus 53%).
- ° They are more likely than the least religious to want to continue working in their present job (78% versus 52%).
- ° They are more likely than the least religious to say they frequently receive recognition for their efforts (62% versus 37%).
- ° They are more likely than the least religious to frequently work with others toward a common goal (91% versus 67%) and to find their work interesting (92% versus 68%).
- ° They are more likely than the least religious to believe they frequently have a say in decisions (74% versus 53%).
- ° They are more likely than the least religious to be guided by the person to whom they report (42% versus 22%).
- ° They are more likely than the least religious to believe that America offers an opportunity for financial security to all those willing to work hard (88% versus 70%).

Chapter Five: Survival of The American Work Ethic

Other Factors

It is remarkable that religion is a much greater predictor of work satisfaction than either income level or occupational status. Blue-collar workers are in some instances, however, slightly less positive about their work than either white collar or professional workers. For example:

- ° 68% of blue-collar workers frequently find their work interesting, compared with 71% of white-collar workers and 78% of professionals.
- ° 18% of blue-collar workers frequently feel bored at work, compared with 17% of white-collar workers and 12% of professionals.
- ° 68% of blue-collar workers frequently feel a sense of dedication to their work, compared with 74% of white-collar workers and 82% of professionals.
- ° 25% of blue-collar workers frequently feel they have opportunities for advancement, compared with 33% of both white-collar workers and professionals.
- ° 23% of blue-collar workers frequently feel pressured about their job, compared with 33% of white-collar workers and 35% of professionals.

Similarly, the least and the most educated are remarkably alike in their feelings about work, as are the most and the least affluent. It is also noteworthy that, contrary to expectations, men and women exhibit virtually no differences in their feelings about work. Even when it comes to feeling that their job frequently offers an opportunity for advancement there is only a 10% difference between men and women, and only a 1% difference when asked whether or not they would like to change jobs. And finally, there are virtually no differences between Blacks and Whites concerning attitudes toward work. Blacks and Whites are virtually identical in their feelings about their opportunity for advancement, for example.

It is heartening to note that those commonly thought to be alienated from their work due to a lack of career options, such as blue-collar workers, Blacks, the least educated, the least affluent, and women, are just as enthusiastic about their work as the rest of America. The stereotype of the blue-collar worker bored on an assembly line, the woman as a frustrated secretary, and the high school dropout unable to find satisfying work does not seem to be dominant.

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Table 92: Factors Affecting Feeling One's Work Contributes to Society

How frequently do you feel that your work contributes to society?				Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	
General Public	68	24	8	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	53	32	15	
Low	65	27	8	
Moderate	74	19	7	
High	80	17	3	
Highest	91	9	0	38
Age				
14-20**	53	34	13	
21-24	69	27	4	
25-34	66	24	10	
35-49	69	22	9	
50-64	77	17	6	
65 and over**	76	20	4	11
Gender				
Male	70	22	8	
Female	66	25	9	4
Race				
White	67	25	8	
Black	79	13	8	12
Income				
Under \$12,000.	73	19	8	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	64	26	10	
Above \$25,000.	72	20	8	1
Education				
11th grade or less	70	20	10	
High school graduate	67	25	8	
Some college or more	67	25	8	3
Occupational Status				
Professional	75	19	6	
White-collar	63	27	10	
Blue-collar	64	25	11	12

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on whether Americans feel they frequently that their work contributes to society. Age, race and occupational status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, the least and most affluent, and the least and most educated.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

Table 93: Factors Affecting Feeling Dedicated to Work

How frequently do you feel a sense of dedication to your work?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
General Public	76	21	3	
<u>Level of Religious Commitment</u>				
Lowest	66	29	5	
Low	73	22	5	
Moderate	77	22	1	
High	86	11	3	
Highest	97	2	1	31
<u>Age</u>				
14-20**	56	38	6	
21-24	76	21	3	
25-34	69	25	6	
35-49	83	16	1	
50-64	86	12	2	
65 and over**	93	6	1	17
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	76	21	3	
Female	76	20	4	0
<u>Race</u>				
White	75	22	3	
Black	80	15	5	5
<u>Income</u>				
Under \$12,000.	77	19	4	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	71	25	4	
Above \$25,000.	82	16	2	5
<u>Education</u>				
11th grade or less	78	19	3	
High school graduate	74	23	3	
Some college or more	76	20	4	2
<u>Occupational Status</u>				
Professional	82	16	2	
White-collar	74	22	4	
Blue-collar	68	26	6	14

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on the frequency with which Americans feel a sense of dedication to their work. Age, income and occupational status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, Whites and Blacks, and between the least and most educated.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

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Table 94: Factors Affecting Perceived Recognition for Efforts

How frequently do you receive recognition for your efforts at work?				Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	
General Public	41	48	11	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	37	49	14	
Low	37	53	10	
Moderate	38	50	12	
High	53	38	9	
Highest	62	31	7	25
Age				
14-20**	38	51	11	
21-24	37	55	8	
25-34	38	49	13	
35-49	46	43	11	
50-64	44	45	11	10
65 and over**	47	46	7	
Gender				
Male	40	49	11	
Female	43	45	12	3
Race				
White	41	49	10	
Black	41	40	19	0
Income				
Under \$12,000.	41	42	17	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	38	54	8	
Above \$25,000.	46	45	9	5
Education				
11th grade or less	43	42	15	
High school graduate	39	47	14	
Some college or more	44	50	6	1
Occupation Status				
Professional	44	47	9	
White-collar	48	42	10	
Blue-collar	36	50	14	12

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on whether Americans feel they frequently receive recognition for their efforts. Occupational status and age have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, and the least and most educated.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

Table 95: Factors Affecting Finding Present Job Interesting

How often do you find your work interesting?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column* %
General Public	73	21	6	
Level of Religious commitment				
Lowest	68	23	9	
Low	69	24	7	
Moderate	70	26	4	
High	84	14	2	
Highest	92	5	3	24
Age				
14-20**	52	35	13	
21-24	71	24	5	
25-34	68	26	6	
35-49	82	15	3	
50-64	79	17	4	
65 and over**	88	12	0	11
Gender				
Male	73	21	6	
Female	74	21	5	1
Race				
White	72	22	6	
Black	74	23	3	2
Income				
Under \$12,000.	72	22	6	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	70	22	8	
Above \$25,000.	76	22	2	4
Education				
11th grade or less	77	17	6	
High school graduate	72	20	8	
Some college or more	71	25	4	6
Occupational Status				
Professional	78	20	2	
White-collar	71	20	9	
Blue-collar	68	24	8	10

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on the frequency with which Americans find their work interesting. Age and occupational status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, and between the least and most educated.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

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Table 96: Factors Affecting Working with Others Toward Common Goal

How often do you feel you work with others toward a common goal?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
General Public	73	20	7	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	67	22	11	
Low	70	24	6	
Moderate	73	20	7	
High	83	14	3	
Highest	91	3	6	24
Age				
14-20*	68	25	7	
21-24	76	19	5	
25-34	66	24	10	
35-49	77	17	6	
50-64	81	14	5	
65 and over*	64	28	8	15
Gender				
Male	74	20	6	
Female	73	19	8	1
Race				
White	74	19	7	
Black	75	22	3	1
Income				
Under \$12,000.	74	20	6	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	69	22	9	
Above \$25,000.	79	16	5	5
Education				
11th grade or less	71	20	9	
High school graduate	72	21	7	
Some college or more	76	19	5	5
Occupational Status				
Professional	78	17	5	
White-collar	73	20	7	
Blue-collar	70	22	8	3

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on whether or not Americans feel they work with others towards a common goal. Age has a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

Table 97: Factors Affecting Having a Say in Decisions at Work

How often do you have a say in decisions at work?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
General Public	58	34	8	
Level of Religious commitment				
Lowest	53	37	10	
Low	55	37	8	
Moderate	59	32	9	
High	65	32	3	
Highest	74	26	0	21
Age				
14-20**	44	44	12	
21-24	49	43	8	
25-34	55	39	6	
35-49	63	28	9	
50-64	68	27	5	
65 and over**	80	18	2	19
Gender				
Male	62	31	7	
Female	52	39	9	10
Race				
White	59	34	7	
Black	51	42	7	8
Income				
Under \$12,000.	55	37	8	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	53	38	9	
Above \$25,000.	71	24	5	16
Education				
11th grade or less	59	33	8	
High school graduate	55	35	10	
Some college or more	60	34	6	1
Occupational Status				
Professional	68	28	4	
White-collar	59	33	8	
Blue-collar	48	42	10	20

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age, income and occupational status have the greatest impact on the frequency with which Americans feel they have a say in decisions at work. Gender and race have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between the least and most educated.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

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Table 98: Factors Affecting Feeling Guided by Supervisor

How often are you guided by the person to whom you report?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column* %
General Public	30	45	25	
Level of Religious commitment				
Lowest	22	51	27	
Low	30	45	25	
Moderate	30	48	22	
High	39	38	23	
Highest	42	28	30	20
Age				
14-20**	32	48	20	
21-24	32	52	16	
25-34	29	47	24	
35-49	28	48	24	
50-64	32	31	37	
65 and over**	35	33	32	4
Gender				
Male	28	44	28	
Female	34	46	20	6
Race				
White	30	46	24	
Black	39	35	26	9
Income				
Under \$12,000.	32	41	27	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	32	46	22	
Above \$25,000.	26	45	29	6
Education				
11th grade or less	36	33	31	
High school graduate	32	45	23	
Some college or more	25	51	24	11
Occupational Status				
Professional	28	43	29	
White-collar	29	45	26	
Blue-collar	31	49	20	3

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on the frequency with which Americans feel they are being guided by the person to whom they report. Race and education have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between the young and the old, men and women, the least and most affluent, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

Table 99: Factors Affecting Feeling An Opportunity For Advancement

How often do you feel you have an opportunity for advancement?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column* %
General Public	29	40	31	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	28	43	29	
Low	26	45	29	
Moderate	30	34	36	
High	28	37	35	
Highest	44	31	25	16
Age				
14-20**	24	44	32	
21-24	36	46	18	
25-34	29	44	27	
35-49	31	39	30	
50-64	29	31	40	
65 and over**	16	32	52	7
Gender				
Male	33	44	23	
Female	23	35	42	10
Race				
White	28	40	23	
Black	32	39	29	4
Income				
Under \$12,000	26	41	33	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	27	42	31	
Above \$25,000	34	39	27	8
Education				
11th grade or less	32	32	36	
High school graduate	26	38	36	
Some college or more	30	47	23	2
Occupational Status				
Professional	33	41	26	
White-collar	33	39	28	
Blue-collar	25	40	35	8

This table reveals that level of religious commitment has the greatest impact on the frequency with which Americans feel they have an opportunity for advancement. Gender, race, income, and occupational status have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between the young and the old, and between the least and most educated.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

Table 100: Factors Affecting Assuming Responsibility at Work

How often do you assume responsibility at work?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
General Public	84	14	2	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	80	18	2	
Low	83	14	3	
Moderate	85	13	2	
High	83	16	1	
Highest	94	5	1	14
Age				
14-20**	82	15	3	
21-24	78	21	1	
25-34	83	15	2	
35-49	84	14	2	
50-64	86	9	5	
65 and over**	96	4	0	8
Gender				
Male	83	15	2	
Female	85	13	2	2
Race				
White	83	15	2	
Black	88	11	1	5
Income				
Under \$12,000.	85	12	3	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	79	19	2	
Above \$25,000	89	8	3	4
Education				
11th grade or under	83	14	3	
High school graduate	81	17	2	
Some college or more	86	12	2	3
Occupational Status				
Professional	90	8	2	
White-collar	84	14	2	
Blue-collar	78	19	3	12

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and occupational status have the greatest impact on the frequency with which Americans feel they assume responsibility at work. Age has a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, and between the least and most educated.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

Table 101: Factors Affecting Seeing a Project Through

How frequently do you that see a project through from start to finish at work?				Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	
General Public	78	17	5	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	76	22	2	
Low	78	16	6	
Moderate	80	16	4	
High	75	17	8	
Highest	84	15	1	8
Age				
14-20**	76	18	6	
21-24	79	19	2	
25-34	76	20	4	
35-49	80	12	8	
50-64	80	18	2	
65 and over**	71	29	0	4
Gender				
Male	78	18	4	
Female	78	16	6	0
Race				
White	78	17	5	
Black	77	20	3	1
Income				
Under \$12,000.	83	14	3	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	75	20	5	
Above \$25,000.	79	17	4	4
Education				
11th grade or less	77	14	9	1
High school graduate	81	15	4	
Some college or more	76	21	3	1
Occupational Status				
Professional	79	18	3	
White-collar	84	12	4	
Blue-collar	73	19	8	11

This table reveals that occupational status and level of religious commitment have the greatest impact on whether Americans say they frequently see a project through from start to finish. There are comparatively little, or virtually no, differences between older and younger Americans, men and women, Whites and Blacks, the least and the most affluent, and the least and the most educated.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

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Table 102: Factors Affecting Feeling Bored At Work

How frequently do you feel bored at work?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
General Public	15	43	42	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	16	45	39	
Low	15	47	38	
Moderate	18	44	38	
High	11	31	58	
Highest	12	29	59	4
Age				
14-20**	19	49	32	
21-25	18	50	32	
26-34	19	49	32	
35-49	14	35	51	
50-64	10	38	52	
65 and over**	9	29	62	9
Gender				
Male	16	43	41	
Female	14	41	45	2
Race				
White	14	43	43	
Black	18	41	41	4
Income				
Under \$12,000.	14	49	37	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	17	42	41	
Above \$25,000.	14	40	46	0
Education				
11th grade or less	16	41	43	
High school graduate	16	38	46	
Some college or more	15	47	38	1
Occupational Status				
Professional	12	40	48	
White-collar	17	43	40	
Blue-collar	18	45	37	6

This table reveals that age has somewhat of an impact on whether or not Americans frequently feel bored at work. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those with different levels of religious commitment, men and women, Whites and Blacks, the least and most affluent, the least and most educated, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

Table 103: Factors Affecting Doing A Job Well

How frequently do you feel you do a job well?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
General Public	91	9	0	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	88	12	0	
Low	92	8	0	
Moderate	91	9	0	
High	97	3	0	
Highest	91	9	0	3
Age				
14-20**	85	15	0	
21-24	95	5	0	
25-34	90	10	0	
35-49	93	7	0	
50-64	93	7	0	
65 and over**	93	7	0	5
Gender				
Male	92	8	0	
Female	90	10	0	2
Race				
White	92	8	0	
Black	94	6	0	2
Income				
Under \$12,000.	92	8	0	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	90	10	0	
Above \$25,000.	94	6	0	2
Education				
11th grade or less	89	11	0	
High school graduate	91	9	0	
Some college or more	92	8	0	3
Occupational Status				
Professional	92	8	0	
White-collar	91	9	0	
Blue-collar	91	9	0	1

This table reveals that there is no category which has a significant impact on whether or not Americans frequently feel they are doing a job well.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

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Table 104: Factors Affecting Feeling Secure in Job

How frequently do you feel secure in your job?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
General Public	77	19	4	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	77	17	6	
Low	76	20	4	
Moderate	75	21	4	
High	82	14	4	
Highest	80	19	1	3
Age				
14-20**	74	22	4	
21-24	73	24	3	
25-34	74	21	5	
35-49	80	16	4	
50-64	81	15	4	
65 and over**	71	20	9	8
Gender				
Male	76	20	4	
Female	79	7	4	3
Race				
White	77	19	4	
Black	73	21	6	4
Income				
Under \$12,000.	70	22	8	
\$12,000 to \$25,000.	76	20	4	
Above \$25,00	83	15	2	13
Education				
11th grade or less	74	22	4	
High school graduate	79	16	5	
Some college or more	77	18	5	3
Occupational Status				
Professional	78	20	2	
White-collar	80	16	4	
Blue-collar	76	19	5	4

This table reveals that income has the greatest impact on whether or not Americans frequently feel secure in their job. Age has a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those with different levels of religious commitment, men and women, Whites and Blacks, the least and the most educated, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

Table 105: Factors Affecting Feeling Pressured About Job

How frequently do you feel pressured about your job?

	Frequently %	Occasionally %	Never %	Percent Difference: "Frequently" Column*
General Public	29	39	32	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	28	34	38	
Low	33	37	30	
Moderate	28	45	27	
High	21	41	38	
Highest	25	42	33	3
Age				
14-20**	17	35	48	
21-24	25	37	38	
25-34	32	40	28	
35-49	30	44	26	
50-64	33	37	30	
65 and over**	32	29	39	8
Gender				
Male	31	40	29	
Female	25	38	37	6
Race				
White	28	39	33	
Black	26	44	30	2
Income				
Under \$12,000.	30	38	32	
\$12,000 to \$25,000.	23	43	34	
Above \$25,000.	36	36	28	6
Education				
11th grade or less	29	35	36	
High school graduate	25	38	37	
Some college or more	32	43	25	3
Occupational Status				
Professional	35	40	25	
White-collar	33	35	32	
Blue-collar	23	40	37	12

This table reveals that occupational status has the greatest impact on whether or not Americans frequently feel pressured about their job. Age has a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between those with different levels of religious commitment, men and women, Whites and Blacks, the least and the most affluent, and between the least and the most educated.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

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Table 106: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Present Job

Do you feel you would like to keep doing what you're doing now or would you prefer to be doing something else?

	Keep doing what I'm doing now %	Change what I'm doing %	Percent Difference: "Keep doing what I'm doing now" Column*
General Public	60	40	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	52	48	
Low	55	45	
Moderate	60	40	
High	73	27	
Highest	78	22	26
Age			
14-20**	31	69	
21-24	56	44	
25-34	54	46	
35-49	67	33	
50-64	76	24	
65 and over**	81	19	22
Gender			
Male	60	40	
Female	59	41	1
Race			
White	61	39	
Black	52	48	9
Income			
Under \$12,000.	56	44	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	58	42	
Above \$25,000.	65	35	9
Education			
11th grade or less	62	38	
High school graduate	59	41	
Some college or more	59	41	3
Occupational Status			
Professional	69	31	
White-collar	60	40	
Blue-collar	51	49	18

This table reveals that level of religious commitment, age, and occupational status have the greatest impact on whether or not Americans would prefer to keep doing what they are currently doing. Race and income have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, and the least and most educated.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

Table 107: Factors Affecting Feeling America Offers Financial Security to All Hard Workers

Do you believe that America offers an opportunity for financial security to all those willing to work hard?

	Yes %	No %	Percent Difference: "Yes" Column*
General Public	80	20	
Level of Religious Commitment			
Lowest	70	30	
Low	81	19	
Moderate	82	18	
High	84	16	
Highest	88	12	18
Age			
14-20**	82	18	
21-24	67	33	
25-34	71	29	
35-49	81	19	
50-64	87	13	
65 and over**	90	10	20
Gender			
Male	81	19	
Female	80	20	1
Race			
White	81	19	
Black	73	27	8
Income			
Under \$12,000.	80	20	
\$12,000. to \$25,000.	82	18	
Above \$25,000.	79	21	1
Education			
11th grade or less	85	15	
High school graduate	82	18	
Some college or more	73	27	12
Occupational Status			
Professional	80	20	
White-collar	77	23	
Blue-collar	78	22	3

This table reveals that level of religious commitment and age have the greatest impact on whether or not Americans believe that America offers an opportunity for financial security to all those willing to work hard. Race and education have a lesser, but still significant, impact. There is comparatively little, or virtually no, difference between men and women, the least and most affluent, and between professional and blue-collar workers.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

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Table 108: Factors Affecting Attitude Toward High Paying Unsatisfying Jobs

Do you agree or disagree that it is better to work at a lower paying job that one enjoys or a higher paying job that is not satisfying?

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Percent Difference "Agree" Column*
General Public	91	3	6	
Level of Religious Commitment				
Lowest	91	4	5	
Low	88	3	9	
Moderate	92	2	6	
High	94	2	4	
Highest	95	0	5	4
Age				
14-20**	86	4	10	
21-24	90	3	7	
25-34	93	2	5	
35-49	91	3	6	
50-64	92	3	5	
65 and over**	95	2	3	3
Gender				
Male	88	4	8	
Female	94	2	15	6
Race				
White	92	3	5	
Black	83	2	4	9
Income				
Under \$12,000	95	1	4	
\$12,000 to \$25,000	91	3	6	
Above \$25,000	90	3	7	5
Education				
11th grade or less	91	2	7	
High school graduate	91	2	7	
Some college or more	92	3	5	1
Occupational Status				
Professional	91	3	6	
White-collar	87	3	10	
Blue-collar	91	3	6	4

This table reveals that there is no category which has a significant impact on whether or not Americans believe it is better to work at a lower paying job that one enjoys than a higher paying job that is not satisfying.

*See Methodological Note on pages 31-35 for explanation of "percent difference" column.

**14-20 year olds and those 65 and older have not been included in the percent difference calculations since they are not part of the mainstream work force.

Chapter Six:
In Search of Leaders

It is time for a new generation of leadership, to cope with new problems and new opportunities. For there is a new world to be won.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy
Television Address, 1960

One of the difficulties that confronts anyone who attempts to answer the question, "Who rules in a pluralistic democracy?" is the ambiguous relationship of leaders to its citizens.

Robert A. Dahl
Who Governs
1961

Chapter Six: In Search of Leaders

Previous chapters of this report have documented that America is a religious nation with a cohesive minority of extremely religious citizens and a substantial number of latently religious people; that many Americans neither participate nor believe in community or political institutions; that the family is an extraordinarily important part of the lives of most Americans; and that work, while important, may not be as deeply satisfying as other aspects of life. The report also has illustrated that level of religious commitment, more than any other factor, has an overwhelming impact on virtually every major aspect of American life.

In this context, it is important to investigate the American public's attitudes toward their leaders, as well as the beliefs of leaders themselves. What are Americans looking for in leaders today? Do the public's religious, moral, political, and social beliefs correspond to those of leaders? How do the opinions of various leadership groups differ from one another? Chapters six and seven explore these and related questions.

In order to compare the opinions and behavior of not only the public and leaders, but also different types of leaders, our leadership sample included approximately 1,800 high level individuals within nine leadership groups: business, education, government, law and justice, military, news media, religion, science, and voluntary associations.

Chapter Six: In Search of Leaders

Crisis in Confidence

The erosion of public confidence in most leaders has been well documented. Polls conducted regularly since the mid-sixties reveal a steep decline in satisfaction with leaders of Congress, the executive branch of government, the media, business, organized religion, medicine, and the military. Indeed, chapter two revealed that 48% of Americans do not believe that the most important decisions on public issues are best left in the hands of our leaders (see Table 13). In addition, when asked to rate American leaders of today on a scale of one to ten with ten representing the best possible leaders and one representing the worst, 60% give leaders a score of five or less. Perhaps more disturbing is the finding that leaders are ever harsher in their judgements, with 66% offering a score of five or less.

Table 109: Rating of Today's Leaders

How would you rate leaders of today on a scale of one to ten, with ten representing the best possible leader and one representing the worst.

	Rating	General Public %	Leaders %
Best Possible Leader	Ten	2	0
	Nine	2	0
	Eight	9	4
	Seven	13	12
	Six	14	18
	Five	29	23
	Four	12	20
	Three	9	18
	Two	4	4
Worst Possible Leader	One	6	1
(Number of Respondents)		(1515)	(1682)

This chapter does not delve further into whether there is a crisis of confidence in leaders. Rather, it assumes that there is indeed such a crisis, and explores some possible foundations for it. We find, for example, that leaders themselves believe that the most important obstacles to the emergence of better leaders are that the system does not favor the most capable individuals, that American voters look for the wrong qualities in leaders, and that our educational system does not provide people with leadership skills. Leaders do not, however, believe that the difficult times of today make effective leadership impossible.

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Table 110: Leaders on Obstacles to Leadership

	Leaders			(Number of Respondents)
	Very Important %	Somewhat Important %	Not Important %	
The system does not favor the most capable individuals	54	35	11	(1747)
Our educational system does not provide people with leadership skills	48	37	15	(1741)
American voters look for the wrong qualities in leaders	46	44	10	(1737)
Leaders are not fully appreciated	23	49	28	(1726)
Leaders are not given enough financial compensation	21	48	31	(1732)
The pressures of leadership positions are too great	18	51	31	(1731)
Leadership roles demand too much time	17	45	38	(1728)
Potential leaders are deterred by fears of lack of privacy	16	43	41	(1733)
The responsibilities of leadership roles appear too great	14	44	42	(1690)
The times make effective leadership impossible	10	39	51	(1723)

Leaders of the Future

Leaders were asked whether they think there is an untapped reservoir of leadership in the United States. The vast majority believe that such a reservoir does exist, and by far the business world is selected as the occupational field with the greatest untapped leadership potential. Thirty-three percent (33%) of all leaders select top management of large or small companies, compared with 3% who select religious groups, 2% government service and 1% the media. Women are also identified as an important potential leadership source. One out of every four leaders name women as an untapped leadership source, compared with only 4% who select minorities.

It is important to note that every leadership group agrees that business executives and women provide an important potential leadership source.

Table 111: Untapped Leadership

Do you think there is an untapped reservoir of leadership in this country.

Yes	87%
No	4%
Don't know	9%
(Number of Respondents)	(1777)

Table 112: Untapped Leadership Groups

If so, which of the following groups do you think may provide the greatest untapped leadership potential:

Occupational Groups

Top management of large corporations 17%

Top management of small companies 16%

Educators 9%

Community organizations 6%

Scientists 4%

Religious Groups 3%

Professionals such as doctors and lawyers 3%

Government service 2%

Military 2%

The Media 1%

Other 7%

Other Groups

Women 25%

Minorities 4%

(Number of Respondents)
(1277)

Table 113: Leadership Groups Select Untapped Sources of Leaders

Occupational Groups	7 th Science	2 nd Military	3 rd Business	5 th Criminal Justice	16 th Religion	8 th Government	19 th Education	6 th News Media	7 th Voluntary Associations
<u>Educators</u>									
Top management of large corporations	18	27	28	19	4	17	14	18	14
Top management of small corporations	11	21	36	16	7	16	12	24	14
Government service	1	4	0	0	1	10	2	2	1
Religious groups	1	0	2	0	17	0	1	0	2
Scientists	17	3	2	1	1	1	11	1	0
Military	0	16	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
Professionals such as doctors and lawyers	4	3	0	10	0	6	2	2	0
The Media	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	6	0
Community organizations	4	7	5	6	9	3	3	9	15
<u>Other Groups</u>									
Women	23	11	18	34	31	23	22	22	34
Minorities	4	1	1	5	6	7	3	2	6
(Number of Respondents) (162)(110)(124)(194)(158)(116)(170)(106)(113)									

Chapter Six: In Search of Leaders

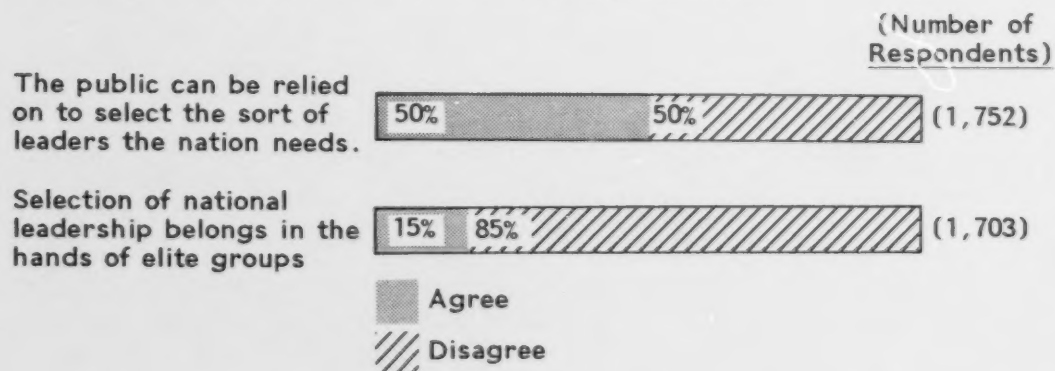
The Qualities of Leadership

In examining how the public and leaders differ in their views on leadership, a two-way crisis in confidence is apparent. Not only, as we have discussed, does the public lack confidence in its leaders, but leaders themselves also exhibit little faith that the public has the ability to choose good leaders.

When presented with the statement, "The public can be relied on to select the sort of leaders the nation needs," fully half (50%) of leaders disagree. It is notable, however, that leaders also resoundingly reject the notion that "selection of national leadership belongs in the hands of elite groups."

Table 114: Leaders on Selection of Leaders

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements.



Some light is shed on this two-way gap in examining the different perceptions among leaders and the public concerning desired leadership qualities. Overwhelmingly, the American public say they seek "honesty" in a national leader. Half of the public (50%) cite this as a crucial characteristic, while the next most often mentioned quality -- "intelligence" -- is chosen by only a quarter (26%) of the public.

A misunderstanding of the public on the part of leaders is dramatically underscored when leaders are asked what they think the public looks for in a leader. Leaders reply that the quality the public is least likely to look for is "intelligence." This is the quality leaders themselves say they are most likely to seek and, as indicated, it is actually the second most important quality in the eyes of the public.

Leaders most often cite "competence" or "leadership ability" as chief characteristics the public seeks in leaders, while honesty ranks fourth in their assessment of what the public seeks. In fact, competence ranks last in the eyes of the public. Leaders, in other words seem to seriously overestimate ability and underestimate the importance of the "moral dimension" as a key ingredient in public evaluation of leadership in the eighties.

It is noteworthy, however, that there are more differences between what leaders think the public seeks and what the public is actually looking for, than there are between the actual priorities of the public and leaders.

Table 115: Ranking of Characteristics of a Good Leader *

	<u>What the Public Seeks</u>		<u>Leaders' Perception of What the Public Seeks</u>		<u>What Leaders Seek</u>	
	<u>Rank</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>%</u>
Honesty	1	50	4	36	4	48
Intelligence	2	26	9	12	1	57
Inner strength	3	18	5	30	8	14
Leadership ability	4	14	2	51	2	55
Integrity	5	12	6	23	3	51
Religious conviction	6	12	7	14	9	8
Caring for people, sincerity	7	11	3	42	5	34
Courage	8	5	8	14	7	25
Competence	9	4	1	52	6	28
(Number of Respondents)		(1504)		(1762)		(1762)

* The question regarding characteristics of a leader was open-ended for the public and closed-ended for leaders.

The Personification of Leadership

In order to gain greater insight into the qualities Americans desire in national leaders, both the public and leaders were asked to name the leader they most admire and the leader they least admire in America's past or present.

Perhaps in keeping with generally negative sentiments toward American leadership at the start of the eighties, the responses concerning least admired leaders are far more clear-cut and illuminating than responses regarding most admired leaders.

The public and leaders show rare agreement in their choice for America's least admired leader. Richard Nixon is the clear "winner," named by half the public (48%) and leaders (51%). Respondents in both groups who select Nixon overwhelmingly concur that "dishonesty" is the quality that they least admire in him.

Leaders and the public are also in complete agreement on their second choice for least admired leader: close to a quarter of both groups (22% and 21%) name Jimmy Carter. Asked why, most respondents cited his lack of effectiveness and competence.

It is notable that while leaders place great importance on both competence and moral qualities, and while the public emphasizes moral qualities -- particularly honesty -- the two groups appear to agree that while incompetence is bad, it is dishonesty that is unforgivable in American politics of this era.

Chapter Six: In Search of Leaders

There is far less consensus among the public and leaders as to their most admired American leader. John F. Kennedy is the leading choice of the public, cited by one quarter (25%) of respondents, and Lincoln is the second choice (12%). Interestingly, Martin Luther King Jr. is the only non-President to be named as an admired leader by more than 5% of the public. Topping the list given by leaders are Abraham Lincoln (19%), Franklin D. Roosevelt (15%), and Harry S. Truman (14%).

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the list of most admired leaders is who is not on it. Although the public and leaders were surveyed in the weeks preceding, during, and after the 1980 presidential election, less than one percent of the American public and of leaders named Ronald Reagan as their most admired leader.

Table 116: American Leaders — The Best and Worst

<u>Most Admired Leader*</u>	<u>General Public</u> %	<u>Leaders</u> %
John F. Kennedy	25	6
Abraham Lincoln	12	19
Franklin D. Roosevelt	9	15
Harry S. Truman	8	14
Martin Luther King Jr.	6	3
Dwight D. Eisenhower	6	4
Jimmy Carter	5	0
<u>Least Admired Leader*</u>		
Richard Nixon	48%	51%
Jimmy Carter	22%	21%

*Others were mentioned by less than 5% of the respondents.

Table 117: Characteristics of Least Admired Leader

	<u>Nixon</u> %	<u>Carter</u> %
Dishonesty	65	12
Selfishness, greed	8	1
Ignorance	2	4
Weakness, indecisiveness	2	24
Hypocrisy, unreliability	11	22
Lack of compassion	4	3
Ineffectiveness, incompetence	14	50

**Chapter Seven:
Leaders of the Eighties**

Because of not daring to be ahead of the world, one becomes
the leader of the world.

Lao Tzu
Sixth Century B.C.

I am a leader therefore I must follow.

Voltaire

Men who agree in their beliefs can cooperate more whole-
heartedly than men who disagree.

Bertrand Russell
Power
1962

CHAPTER SEVEN
LEADERS FOR THE EIGHTIES

LEADERS AND THE PUBLIC ON THE ISSUES:

The Moral issues

The previous chapter documented that American leaders are out of tune with the public which they are presumed to represent. The gap between leaders and the public is confirmed by the finding that the public is much more concerned about moral issues than are leaders. Only 42% of leaders consider homosexuality immoral, for example, compared with 71% of the public; 36% of leaders and 65% of the public consider abortion immoral; and 33% of leaders and 57% of the public feel that smoking marijuana is morally wrong.

Table 118: Leaders and the Public on the Moral Issues

<u>Issues Considered Morally Wrong</u>	<u>Public</u> %	<u>Leaders</u> %
Abortion	65	36
Homosexuality	71	42
Lesbianism	70	42
Smoking marijuana	57	33
Sex before age 16	71	55
Living with someone of the opposite sex before marriage	47	32
Adultery	85	71
Pornographic movies	68	56
Hard drugs	84	73
Sex between two single people	40	31
(Number of Respondents)	(1610)	(1762)

Chapter Seven: Leaders of the Eighties

Belief in the Political System

The public and their leaders are also split on questions related to belief in the political system. Leaders are less likely than the public to believe that the vote is the main thing that decides the way things are run in the United States (29% versus 44%), and less likely to feel that the most important decisions on public issues should be left in the hands of our leaders (34% versus 44%). Slightly less than two-fifths of both groups believe that America's major national problems can be solved through traditional American politics (35% versus 38%), which indicates that even the individuals who "lead" our society are not especially inspired by belief in the system.

Table 119: Leaders and the Public on Belief in the Political System

	<u>Public</u> %	<u>Leaders</u> %
The way people vote is the main thing that decides the way things are run in this country.	44	29
The most important decisions on public issues are best left in the hands of our leaders.	44	34
The most important national problems, such as energy, inflation and crime can be solved through traditional American politics.	38	35
(Number of Respondents)	(1581*)	(1726*)

* Minimum number of respondents answering any single item.

Traditional Political Issues

Leaders and the public also substantially disagree about the extent to which government should be involved in the lives of its citizens. While both leaders (70%) and the public (73%) agree that the government has too much power over the lives of average citizens, leaders are drastically less likely to believe the government should ensure that everyone has a good standard of living (31% versus 69%) and that the government should protect U.S. industry from foreign competition (33% versus 72%). There are also some other noteworthy differences in Table 120. It should be noted that leaders do agree with the public on such questions as whether or not our involvement in Vietnam was unjustified, whether there should be a peace-time draft, and whether there is too much concern in the courts for the rights of criminals.

Chapter Seven:
Leaders of the Eighties

Table 120: Leaders and the Public on Traditional Political Issues

	Percent Agreeing	
	Public %	Leaders %
The government should protect American industry from foreign competition by limiting imports from countries such as Japan	72	33
The government ought to make sure everyone has a good standard of living	69	31
The United States has been too willing to accept refugees from Cuba and South Vietnam	76	48
It is important for America to have the strongest military force in the world, no matter what it costs.	74	50
The president should be elected for a single nonrenewable term of six years	41	63
Social security taxes should be increased if necessary to provide adequate incomes for the older people	72	54
The press is doing a good job of fulfilling its responsibility to the public	57	45
The benefits of nuclear power are greater than the risks involved	55	66
There should be a draft of women for combat duty	25	34
The government runs best when it listens to public opinion on major public issues	76	68
Our involvement in the war in Vietnam was unjustified	66	62
The government has too much power over the lives of average citizens	73	70
The resignation of President Nixon was good because it showed that we could rid our country of corruption in high office	70	71
There should be a peace-time draft for men	60	62
There is too much concern in the courts for the rights of criminals	70	69
	Percent Favoring	
	Public %	Leaders %
Do you favor or oppose efforts to strengthen women's rights in this country	88	94
(Number of Respondents)	(1574*)	(1625*)

* Minimum number of respondents answering any single item.

Community Involvement

Predictably, leaders are consistently more active in their local communities than the general public. They are more likely to vote in local elections (89% versus 58%), to have been an officer in a local organization (63% versus 35%), to frequently do volunteer work (33% versus 16%), and to discuss local issues with friends and neighbors (55% versus 40%).

Table 121: Leaders and the Public on Community Involvement

<u>How frequently do you:</u>	<u>Percent Saying "Frequently"</u>	
	<u>Public</u> %	<u>Leaders</u> %
Vote in local elections	58	89
Feel you belong to a community	59	62
Discuss local issues with friends and neighbors	40	55
Feel you can rely on your neighbors	60	54
Do volunteer work at or for a local organization	16	33
Visit with your neighbors	37	26
Attend community or neighborhood meetings	13	21
<u>Have You ever been an officer in a local organization?</u>	<u>Public</u> %	<u>Leaders</u> %
Yes	35	63
No	65	37
(Number of Respondents)	(1585*)	(1726*)

* Minimum number of respondents answering any single item.

Chapter Seven: Leaders of the Eighties

Work

As one might also expect, leaders report more dedication to their job than the general public (90% versus 76%). They are more likely to find their work interesting (92% versus 73%), and less likely to be bored (4% versus 15%). Fifty-three percent (53%) of leaders say that work gives them much more satisfaction than most other aspects of their life, compared with only 30% of the general public: 76% of leaders express a desire to continue doing what they're doing, compared with 60% of the general public. Perhaps because of this dedication to their work, and because of the definition of a leader as defined in this study, leaders are more likely than the general public to feel pressured by their jobs (35% versus 28%). It may very well be, however, that what is surprising about these statistics is that occupational leaders are so close to the public concerning these employment related questions.

Table 122: Leaders and the Public on Work

	Percent Saying "Frequently"	
	Public %	Leaders %
How frequently do you:		
Feel a sense of dedication to your work	76	90
Feel pressured about your job	28	35
Find your work interesting	73	92
Feel secure in your job	77	79
Feel bored	15	4
Do you feel you would like to keep on doing what you're doing now or would you prefer to be doing something else?		
	Public %	Leaders %
Keep doing what I'm doing	60	76
(Number of Respondents)	(831*)	(1725*)

* Minimum number of respondents answering any single item.

Chapter Seven: Leaders of the Eighties

Family

The public seems to place more importance on their personal relationships than do leaders. They are more likely to feel that making new friends (56% versus 33%) and playing with children (69% versus 50%) is very important to them, although leaders and the public agree on the importance of such activities as sharing personal feelings with a spouse and doing things as a family.

Although the public is almost twice as likely as leaders to believe that divorce should be made more difficult, only about a third of both groups believe that a couple with young children should stay together.

Table 123: Leaders and the Public on the Family

	Percent Saying "Very Important"	
	Public %	Leaders %
Making new friends	56	33
Playing with children	69	50
Going out of your way to help a friend	83	70
Talking to older members of your family	67	54
Being with friends	69	59
Having a rewarding sexual relationship	61	53
Doing things as a family	74	71
Sharing personal feelings with a spouse or intimate companion	79	77

Table 124: Leaders and the Public on Marriage

	Percent Saying "More Difficult"	
	<u>Public</u>	<u>Leaders</u>
Should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now?	52%	27%
	Percent Saying "Yes"	
	<u>Public</u>	<u>Leaders</u>
Do you feel that a couple who are unhappily married should stay together if they have young children?	36%	31%
	Percent Saying "Approve"	
	<u>Public</u>	<u>Leaders</u>
Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money if she has a husband who is capable of supporting her?	75%	88%
(Number of respondents)	(1549*)	(1399*)

* Minimum number of respondents answering any single item.

Chapter Seven: Leaders of the Eighties

Religious Commitment

One factor that may explain differences between the attitudes of leaders and the public is the finding that leaders as a group are somewhat less involved in religious activities than the public. Thirty-six percent (36%) of the public, for example, feel that religion gives them much more satisfaction than most other areas of their life, compared with only 21% of leaders. Furthermore, almost three out of every four American citizens (73%) frequently feel that God loves them, compared with only half of leaders (54%); and 57% of the public frequently engage in prayer, compared with 48% of leaders.

Table 125: Leaders and the Public on Religious Commitment

	<u>Percent Saying "Frequently"</u>	
	<u>Public</u> %	<u>Leaders</u> %
Feel that God loves you	73	54
Engage in prayer	57	48
Attend religious services	44	43
Read the Bible	28	22
Have a religious experience	25	21
Encourage others to turn to Religion	23	19

Table 125 (continued)

	Percent Saying "Yes"	
	Public %	Leaders %
Was there a specific time in your adult life when you made a personal commitment to Christ that has changed your life?	47	33
Do you consider yourself a religious person	74	66
Which of the following gives you much more satisfaction than most other areas of your life?		
	Public %	Leaders %
Work	30	53
Leisure	34	20
Friends	42	24
Spouse	63	64
Family	55	49
Community	12	6
Religion	36	21
(Number of Respondents)	(1432*)	(1364*)

* Minimum number of respondents answering any single item, except work. The number of respondents for work are 859 for the public and 1636 for the leaders.

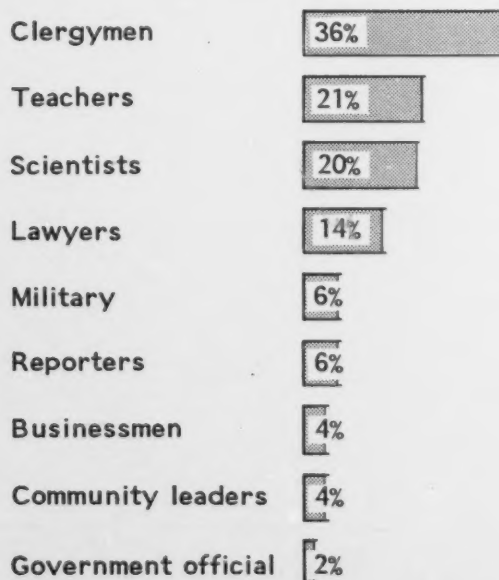
Chapter Seven: Leaders of the Eighties

BRIDGING THE GAP:

Although leaders are not generally in tune with the views and attitudes of the public, there are some leaders who do quite accurately represent the average citizen. After six chapters of finding that religious belief is a significant, consistent factor affecting American values, it may not be surprising to learn that religious leaders are more resonant with public attitudes than any other leadership group. It is, however, distinctly surprising that, to a lesser extent, business leaders are also more attuned to public attitudes than are most other leadership groups. It is noteworthy that while religious and business leaders are closely in tune with the public, Americans admire religious leaders, but not business executives.

Table 126: The Public on Most Admired Occupation

Which of the following groups of people do you admire most?*



(Number of Respondents) (1515)

* Percents total to more than 100% because some respondents selected more than one group

Religious Commitment:

Religious leaders are predictably more religious than any other leadership group, but, more importantly, it is business executives who follow the religious leaders in their degree of religious commitment and who most closely resemble the general public. Scientists, on the other hand, are the least religious group.

While 96% of religious leaders, for example, frequently feel that God loves them, as opposed to 31% of scientists, it is the business executives (70%) who come closest to the general public (73%). Similarly:

- 64% of religious leaders, 8% of scientists, 23% of business executives and 25% of the general public say they frequently have religious experiences.
- 72% of religious leaders, 4% of scientists, 25% of business executives, and 23% of the general public say they frequently encourage others to turn to religion.
- 83% of religious leaders, 7% of scientists, 21% of business executives, and 28% of the general public frequently read the Bible.
- 96% of religious leaders, 31% of scientists, 47% of business executives and 44% of the general public frequently attend religious services.
- 95% of religious leaders, 27% of scientists, 67% of business executives, and 57% of the general public frequently engage in prayer.

Table 127: Leadership Groups on Feeling That God Loves You

How frequently do you feel that God Loves you?*

	<u>Frequently</u> %	<u>Occasionally</u> %	<u>Never</u> %
General Public	73	21	6
Leaders	54	23	23
Religion	96	2	2
Business	70	18	12
News Media	53	29	18
Voluntary Associations	53	20	27
Military	50	33	17
Government	48	26	26
Law & Justice	44	27	29
Education	40	28	32
Science	31	31	38

Table 128: Leadership Groups on Having a Religious Experience

How frequently do you have something you call a religious experience?*

	<u>Frequently</u> %	<u>Occasionally</u> %	<u>Never</u> %
General Public	25	41	34
Leaders	21	34	45
Religion	64	31	5
Business	23	40	37
Voluntary Associations	21	35	44
News Media	18	33	49
Military	12	38	50
Education	12	32	56
Government	11	32	57
Law & Justice	9	37	54
Science	8	28	64

* See methodology for numbers of respondents.

Table 129: Leadership Groups on Encouraging Others to Turn to Religion

How frequently do you encourage others to turn to religion?*

	<u>Frequently</u> %	<u>Occasionally</u> %	<u>Never</u> %
General Public	23	34	43
Leaders	19	28	53
Religion	72	25	3
Business	25	33	42
Voluntary Associations	19	24	57
News Media	13	26	61
Education	9	28	63
Law & Justice	8	29	63
Military	8	38	54
Government	5	28	67
Science	4	24	72

Table 130: Leadership Groups on Reading The Bible

How frequently do you read the Bible?*

	<u>Frequently</u> %	<u>Occasionally</u> %	<u>Never</u> %
General Public	28	47	25
Leaders	22	46	32
Religion	83	14	3
Business	21	54	25
Voluntary Associations	17	51	32
Education	17	54	29
Military	14	55	31
News Media	13	47	40
Government	11	42	47
Law & Justice	8	47	45
Science	7	55	38

* See methodology for numbers of respondents.

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Table 131: Leadership Groups on Attending Religious Services

How frequently do you attend religious services?*

	<u>Frequently</u> %	<u>Occasionally</u> %	<u>Never</u> %
General Public	44	38	18
Leaders	43	36	21
Religion	96	4	0
Military	48	38	14
Business	47	42	11
Voluntary Associations	38	42	20
Education	36	41	23
Law & Justice	34	42	24
News Media	33	40	27
Science	31	36	33
Government	28	47	25

Table 132:: Leadership Groups on Engaging in Prayer

How frequently do you engage in prayer?*

	<u>Frequently</u> %	<u>Occasionally</u> %	<u>Never</u> %
General Public	57	32	11
Leaders	48	32	20
Religion	95	4	1
Business	67	25	8
Voluntary Associations	46	32	22
Military	44	40	16
News Media	44	32	24
Education	40	33	27
Government	38	41	21
Law & Justice	33	41	26
Science	27	40	33

* See methodology for number of respondents.

Table 133: Leadership Groups on Personal Religiousness

Do you consider yourself a religious person?*

	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %
General Public	74	26
Leaders	66	34
Religion	100	0
Business	80	20
Military	67	33
Voluntary Associations	64	36
News Media	64	36
Education	63	37
Government	57	43
Law & Justice	53	47
Science	50	50

Table 134: Leadership Groups on Commitment to Christ

Was there a specific time in your adult life when you made a personal commitment to Christ that changed your life?*

	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %
General Public	47	53
Leaders	33	67
Religion	74	26
Business	37	63
Voluntary Associations	35	65
News Media	29	71
Military	25	75
Government	22	78
Law & Justice	21	79
Education	20	80
Science	18	82

* See methodology for number of respondents.

The Moral Issues

As might be expected, religious leaders are more concerned about moral issues than other leadership groups, but, again, it is business executives who follow close behind. In virtually every case regarding moral issues, the responses of the general public fall somewhere between that of business executives and religious leaders. This time, however, it is lawyers who, along with scientists, differ the most from the general public. Seventy-four percent (74%) of religious leaders, for example, believe that abortion is morally wrong, compared with 25% of those in the legal community, 42% of business executives and 65% of the general public. Similarly:

- ° 73% of religious leaders, 30% of those in the legal community, 51% of business executives, and 72% of the general public believe that homosexuality is morally wrong.
- ° 60% of religious leaders, 19% of those in the legal community, 48% of business executives and 57% of the general public believe that smoking marijuana is morally wrong.

In many other cases, the views of business executives are closest to those of the general public. Forty percent (40%) of the general public, for example, 38% of business executives, 77% of religious leaders and 17% of those in the legal community believe that sex between two single people is morally wrong. In addition:

- ° 68% of the general public, 70% of business executives, 41% of those in the legal community, and 87% of religious leaders believe that pornographic movies are morally wrong.
- ° 84% of the general public, 88% of business executives, 58% of the legal community and 90% of religious leaders believe that the use of hard drugs is morally wrong.
- ° 71% of the general public, 69% of business leaders, 46% of the legal community, and 79% of religious leaders believe that having sex before age 16 is morally wrong.

Table 135: Leadership Groups on Adultery

Is it morally wrong for a married person to have sexual relations with someone other than their spouse or is this not a moral issue?*

	<u>Morally Wrong</u> %	<u>Not A Moral Issue</u> %
General Public	85	15
Leaders	71	29
Religion	96	4
Military	80	20
Business	76	24
News Media	72	28
Government	70	30
Science	65	35
Voluntary Associations	65	35
Education	62	38
Law & Justice	60	40

Table 136: Leadership Groups on Abortion

Is abortion morally wrong or is this not a moral issue?*

	<u>Morally Wrong</u> %	<u>Not A Moral Issue</u> %
General Public	65	35
Leaders	36	64
Religion	74	26
Business	42	58
Military	40	60
News Media	35	65
Voluntary Associations	33	67
Government	29	71
Education	26	74
Law & Justice	25	75
Science	25	75

* See methodology for numbers of respondents.

Table 137: Leadership Groups on Pre-Marital Sex

Is sex between two single people morally wrong or is this not a moral issue?*

	<u>Morally Wrong</u> %	<u>Not A Moral Issue</u> %
General Public	40	60
Leaders	31	69
Religion	77	23
Business	38	62
Voluntary Associations	29	71
Military	28	72
Education	27	73
Government	23	77
News Media	20	80
Science	20	80
Law & Justice	17	83

Table 138: Leadership Groups on Homosexuality

Is homosexuality morally wrong or is it not a moral issue?*

	<u>Morally Wrong</u> %	<u>Not A Moral Issue</u> %
General Public	71	29
Leaders	42	58
Religion	73	27
Military	58	42
Business	51	49
Voluntary Associations	41	59
News Media	38	62
Government	36	64
Education	30	70
Law & Justice	30	70
Science	27	73

* See methodology for numbers of respondents.

Table 139: Leadership Groups on Lesbianism

Is lesbianism morally wrong or is it not a moral issue?*

	<u>Morally Wrong</u> %	<u>Not A Moral Issue</u> %
General Public	70	30
Leaders	42	58
Religion	74	26
Military	60	40
Business	53	47
Voluntary Associations	45	55
News Media	37	63
Government	35	65
Law & Justice	30	70
Education	28	72
Science	26	74

Table 140: Leadership Groups on Smoking Marijuana

Is smoking marijuana morally wrong or is it not a moral issue?*

	<u>Morally Wrong</u> %	<u>Not A Moral Issue</u> %
General Public	57	43
Leaders	33	67
Religion	60	40
Business	48	52
Voluntary Associations	40	60
Military	34	66
Education	30	70
Government	26	74
News Media	22	78
Science	21	79
Law & Justice	19	81

* See methodology for number of respondents.

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Table 141: Leadership Groups on Pornographic Movies

Are pornographic movies morally wrong or is this not a moral issue?*

	<u>Morally Wrong</u> %	<u>Not A Moral Issue</u> %
General Public	68	32
Leaders	56	44
Religion	87	13
Business	70	30
Voluntary Associations	63	37
Military	54	46
Education	50	50
Government	47	53
News Media	46	54
Science	45	55
Law & Justice	41	59

Table 142: Leadership Groups on Hard Drugs

Is the use of hard drugs morally wrong or is this not a moral issue?*

	<u>Morally Wrong</u> %	<u>Not A Moral Issue</u> %
General Public	84	16
Leaders	73	27
Religion	90	10
Business	88	12
Voluntary Associations	74	26
Education	72	28
Science	70	30
Government	68	32
Military	68	32
News Media	66	34
Law & Justice	58	42

* See methodology for number of respondents.

Table 143: Leadership Groups on Sex Before 16

Is having sex before age 16 morally wrong or is this not a moral issue?*

	Morally Wrong %	Not A Moral Issue %
General Public	71	29
Leaders	55	45
Religion	79	21
Business	69	31
Military	59	41
Government	55	45
News Media	54	46
Voluntary Associations	52	48
Education	46	54
Law & Justice	46	54
Science	41	59

Table 144: Leadership Groups on Living With Someone Before Marriage

Is living with someone of the opposite sex before marriage morally wrong or is this not a moral issue?*

	Morally Wrong %	Not A Moral Issue %
General Public	47	53
Leaders	32	68
Religion	72	28
Business	37	63
Military	36	64
Voluntary Associations	31	69
Education	30	70
News Media	24	76
Government	23	77
Law & Justice	19	81
Science	19	81

* See methodology for number of respondents.

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The Family

On family related issues, once again this study finds that the views of the religious leaders are closest to those of the general public, and those of the legal community are the furthest:

- ° 64% of religious leaders believe that a woman with young children should not work outside the home unless it is financially necessary, compared with 32% of those in the legal community and 72% of the general public.
- ° 59% of religious leaders, 19% of the legal community and 52% of the general public believe that divorce in this country should be more difficult to obtain than it is now.
- ° 76% of religious leaders, 94% of the legal community, and 75% of the general public approve of a married woman earning money if she has a husband who is capable of supporting her.

It should be noted that concerning family matters, business executives are not particularly different than the other leadership groups, although they are more likely than most groups to believe that women with young children should try not to work outside the home and that divorce should be made more difficult.

Table 145: Leadership Groups on Working Mothers

A woman with young children should not work outside the home unless it is financially necessary.*

	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %
General Public	72	5	23
Leaders	46	10	44
Religion	64	8	28
Military	55	9	36
Business	54	14	32
Voluntary Associations	49	6	45
Education	46	16	38
News Media	42	10	48
Science	40	10	50
Government	39	9	52
Law & Justice	32	10	58

Table 146: Leadership Groups on Divorce

Should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now?*

	<u>More Difficult</u> %	<u>Remain the Same</u> %	<u>Easier</u> %
General Public	52	27	21
Leaders	27	52	21
Religion	59	34	7
Business	27	55	18
News Media	27	51	22
Military	27	53	20
Voluntary Associations	25	50	25
Government	21	53	26
Science	20	52	28
Education	19	62	19
Law & Justice	19	53	28

* See methodology for number of respondents.

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Table 147: Leadership Groups on Married Couples with Young Children Remaining Together

Do you feel that an unhappily married couple should stay together if they have young children?*

	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %
General Public	36	64
Leaders	31	69
Religion	50	50
Education	40	60
Military	38	62
Business	35	65
Science	31	69
News Media	25	75
Law & Justice	21	79
Voluntary Associations	21	79
Government	18	82

Table 148: Leadership Groups on Married Women Working

Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money if she has a husband who is capable of supporting her?*

	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	<u>No Opinion</u> %
General Public	75	20	5
Leaders	88	5	7
Law & Justice	94	2	4
Science	92	4	4
News Media	92	3	5
Business	89	4	7
Education	89	2	9
Government	89	2	9
Military	86	4	10
Voluntary Associations	83	7	10
Religion	76	12	12

* See methodology for number of respondents.

The Community

One possible explanation as to why the views of religious leaders and business executives are so similar to those of the general public is that these are the people who express the highest levels of community involvement. If religious leaders and business executives are involved with citizens in their communities, then it may very well be that they are influenced by, and are influencing, the American public. Yet lawyers also express high levels of community involvement and, as already demonstrated, their views are for the most part not shared by the general public. (It is perhaps surprising that government leaders, the leaders formally selected to represent the public, are among the least likely to say that they are involved in their community.)

- ° 38% of religious leaders, 27% of business executives, and 26% of lawyers frequently attend community meetings, compared with 13% of government leaders.
- ° 47% of religious leaders, 43% of business executives, and 40% of lawyers frequently do volunteer work for a local organization, compared with 22% of government leaders.
- ° 75% of religious leaders, 77% of business executives, and 70% of lawyers have served as an officer of a local organization, compared with 53% of government leaders.
- ° 69% of religious leaders, 61% of business executives, and 66% of lawyers feel they can have a significant influence on the way their community is run, compared with 49% of government leaders.

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Table 149: Leadership Groups on Attending Community Meetings

How frequently do you attend community or neighborhood meetings?*

	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Occasionally</u>	<u>Never</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
General Public	13	35	52
Leaders	21	61	18
Religion	38	54	8
Business	27	63	10
Law & Justice	26	54	20
Voluntary Associations	25	55	20
News Media	20	54	26
Education	17	67	16
Military	14	67	19
Government	13	64	23
Science	9	68	23

Table 150: Leadership Groups on Discussing Local Issues

How frequently do you discuss local issues with friends and neighbors?*

	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Occasionally</u>	<u>Never</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
General Public	40	44	16
Leaders	55	42	3
News Media	68	30	2
Religion	62	37	1
Business	62	36	2
Law & Justice	61	38	1
Voluntary Associations	58	39	3
Government	55	41	4
Science	47	51	2
Education	43	54	3
Military	42	54	4

* See methodology for number of respondents.

Table 151: Leadership Groups on Volunteering

How frequently do you do volunteer work at or for a local organization?*

	<u>Frequently</u> %	<u>Occasionally</u> %	<u>Never</u> %
General Public	16	34	50
Leaders	33	44	23
Voluntary Associations	47	35	18
Religion	47	44	9
Business	43	39	18
Law & Justice	40	42	18
Education	25	48	27
News Media	24	42	34
Government	22	49	29
Science	22	51	27
Military	21	52	27

Table 152: Leadership Groups on Influencing Community

Do you feel you can have a significant influence on the way your community is run?*

	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %
General Public	55	45
Leaders	59	41
News Media	72	23
Religion	69	31
Law & Justice	66	34
Business	61	39
Military	56	44
Voluntary Associations	55	45
Education	54	46
Government	49	51
Science	49	51

* See methodology for number of respondents.

Table 153: Leadership Groups on Relying on Neighbors

How frequently do you feel you can rely on your neighbors?*

	<u>Frequently</u> %	<u>Occasionally</u> %	<u>Never</u> %
General Public	60	30	10
Leaders	54	42	4
Religion	63	35	2
Military	59	39	2
Education	58	39	3
Science	56	41	3
Business	55	41	4
Voluntary Associations	52	42	6
Government	52	45	3
News Media	46	44	10
Law & Justice	44	49	7

Table 154: Leadership Groups and Feeling Part of a Community

How frequently do you feel you belong to a community?*

	<u>Frequently</u> %	<u>Occasionally</u> %	<u>Never</u> %
General Public	59	30	11
Leaders	62	33	5
Religion	77	21	2
Business	72	25	3
Education	69	27	4
News Media	63	33	4
Law & Justice	61	33	6
Voluntary Associations	60	37	3
Military	58	39	3
Science	54	38	8
Government	49	46	5

* See methodology for number of respondents.

Table 155: Leadership Groups and Serving as an Officer in Local Organizations

Have you ever been an officer in a local organization?*

	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %
General Public	35	65
Leaders	63	37
Business	77	23
Religion	75	25
Voluntary Associations	72	28
Law & Justice	70	30
Education	64	36
Military	59	41
News Media	57	43
Government	53	47
Science	44	56

Table 156: Leadership Groups and Wanting To Participate in Community

Would you like to participate in making your community a better place to live?*

	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %
General Public	85	15
Leaders	77	23
Religion	87	13
News Media	84	16
Government	80	20
Business	79	21
Voluntary Associations	78	22
Science	75	25
Military	74	26
Law & Justice	73	27
Education	66	34

* See methodology for number of respondents.

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Work

There are remarkably few differences between the various leadership groups in their responses to questions about their work. They all are dedicated, find their work interesting, and feel secure in their jobs. Business leaders, however, are the most likely to feel that it is more important to make a decision than to be right or wrong, and government leaders are most likely to want to change what they are presently doing.

When asked the most important rewards of their leadership position, leaders are most likely to name inner satisfaction (78%) and a sense of accomplishment (72%). Approximately two-thirds of leaders feel that doing something of value for society (64%) and a sense of challenge (66%) are important rewards. Conversely, when asked to name the greatest disadvantages of their leadership position, excessive time demands (59%) and excessive pressures (42%) are the most frequently cited responses.

It is interesting that government leaders are the least likely leadership group to cite inner satisfaction as an important reward, and religious leaders are the most likely to feel that their leadership position enables them to do something of value for society.

Table 157: Leadership Groups on Keeping Present Jobs

Do you feel you would like to keep on doing what you're doing now or would you prefer to be doing something else?*

	<u>Keep Doing What I'm Doing</u> %	<u>Change What I'm Doing</u> %
General Public	60	40
Leaders	76	24
Religion	84	16
Science	84	16
Business	80	20
Education	80	20
Voluntary Associations	76	24
Law & Justice	72	28
Military	63	37
Government	53	47

Table 158: Leadership Groups on Pressure to Make Decisions

How frequently do you feel it is more important to make a decision than to be right or wrong?*

	<u>Frequently</u> %	<u>Occasionally</u> %	<u>Never</u> %
Business	37	40	23
Voluntary Associations	24	48	28
Law & Justice	22	53	25
Religion	19	48	33
News Media	18	54	28
Military	18	56	26
Government	17	58	25
Science	16	52	32
Education	13	48	39

* See methodology for number of respondents.

Table 159: Leadership Groups on Rewards of Leadership

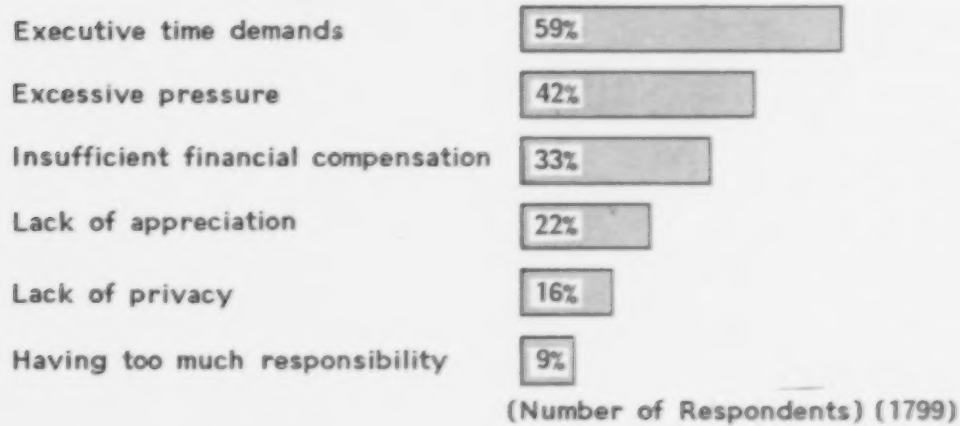
What do you feel are the most important rewards of your leadership position?*

	Leaders	Science	Military	Business	Criminal Justice	Religion	Government	Education	News Media	Voluntary Associations
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Inner satisfaction	78	82	77	76	78	85	64	78	77	76
Prestige	31	35	30	26	45	14	28	31	35	30
Financial rewards	23	34	14	40	32	5	19	17	26	15
Ability to affect the course of society	36	20	38	21	36	50	37	32	35	53
Challenge	66	68	77	68	66	65	69	54	65	64
Doing something of value for society	64	58	61	51	58	79	62	66	64	73
Sense of having accomplished something	72	78	68	76	67	68	73	76	69	76

* See methodology for number of respondents.

Table 160: Perceived Disadvantages of Leadership Position

What are the greatest disadvantages of your leadership position?



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Traditional Political Issues

No consistent pattern among the different leadership groups appears concerning the traditional political questions. Many interesting results are nevertheless apparent. Lawyers, for example, are the only group for which a minority believe there is too much concern in the courts for the rights of criminals. This is interesting, perhaps disturbing, since it is lawyers and judges who ultimately enforce the law. Other noteworthy results include:

- ° Military leaders (30%), are the least likely to believe that our involvement in Vietnam was unjustified, compared with 62% of leaders as a whole and 66% of the general public. Journalists are the most likely to believe the war was unjustified (73%).
- ° Government officials are the least likely to agree that the government runs best when it listens to public opinion on major public issues.
- ° Government leaders are the most likely to believe that the most important decisions on public issues are best left in the hands of our leaders.
- ° Business executives (39%), along with the general public (44%), are the most likely to believe that the way people vote is the main thing that decides the way things are run in this country. Journalists (23%) are the least likely to believe this.
- ° Business executives (89%), along with the general public (88%) are the least likely to favor efforts to strengthen women's rights.
- ° Business executives (14%) are the least likely to believe the government ought to make certain that everyone has a good standard of living. Leaders of voluntary associations (48%), along with the general public (69%), are the most likely to believe this.
- ° Business executives and lawyers (40%) are the least likely to believe that social security taxes should be increased if necessary to provide adequate income for older people. Religious leaders (66%) and the general public (72%) are the most likely to believe this.

- ° Business executives and journalists are the most likely to believe that the government has too much power over the lives of average citizens. Educators are the least likely to believe this.
- ° Military and business executives are the most likely to believe that the benefits of nuclear power are greater than the risks involved.
- ° Business executives, along with the general public, are most likely to agree that the United States has been too willing to accept refugees from Cuba and South Vietnam. (72% and 76%). By contrast, religious leaders are least likely to agree with this (36%).
- ° Military (72%) and business executives, (69%) along with the general public (74%), are the most likely to agree that it is important for the United States to have the strongest military force in the world regardless of cost. Educators, scientists and religious leaders are the least likely to believe this.
- ° The military (80%), business executives (73%), and the news media (70%) are the most likely to believe that there should be a peace-time draft for men. Religious leaders (51%) are the least likely to believe this.
- ° Religious leaders (21%), the military (28%), and business executives (29%), along with the general public (25%), are the least likely to believe that women should be drafted for combat duty.

Table 161: Leadership Groups on Rights of Criminals

Do you agree or disagree that there is too much concern in the courts for the rights of criminals?.*

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %
General Public	70	8	22
Leaders	69	7	24
Business	88	6	6
Military	83	6	11
Voluntary Associations	73	6	21
Religion	72	7	21
Science	72	7	21
Education	70	7	23
News Media	69	10	21
Government	67	7	26
Law & Justice	41	8	51

Table 162: Leadership Groups on Government Listening to Public Opinion

Do you agree or disagree that the government runs best when it listens to public opinion on major public issues?*

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %
General Public	76	9	15
Leaders	68	10	22
Religion	78	5	17
Voluntary Associations	77	10	13
News Media	75	8	17
Science	71	8	21
Business	70	9	21
Military	69	8	23
Education	64	10	26
Law & Justice	56	17	27
Government	55	13	32

* See methodology for numbers of respondents.

Table 163: Leadership Groups on Leaving Decisions In Hands of Leaders

Do you agree or disagree that the most important decisions on public issues are best left in the hands of our leaders?*

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %
General Public	44	8	48
Leaders	34	8	58
Government	47	6	47
Military	45	8	47
Business	35	14	51
Science	34	5	61
Voluntary Associations	32	9	59
Religion	32	8	60
Law & Justice	30	9	61
News Media	27	5	68
Education	27	13	60

Table 164: Leadership Groups on Meaning of the Vote

You agree or disagree that the way people vote is the main thing that decides the way things are run in this country?*

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %
General Public	44	6	50
Leaders	29	7	64
Business	39	6	55
Military	32	5	63
Voluntary Associations	30	6	64
Religion	29	9	62
Science	29	10	61
Government	28	7	65
Education	28	9	63
Law & Justice	27	5	68
News Media	23	5	72

* See methodology for number of respondents.

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Table 165: Leadership Groups on Nuclear Power

Do you agree or disagree that the benefits of nuclear power are greater than the risks involved?*

	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %
General Public	55	15	30
Leaders	66	8	26
Military	90	4	6
Business	81	2	17
Science	74	4	22
Education	71	9	20
News Media	64	12	24
Government	58	14	28
Law & Justice	58	10	32
Religion	58	7	35
Voluntary Associations	55	8	37

Table 166: Leadership Groups In America Offering Financial Security To All

Do you believe that America offers an opportunity for financial security to all those willing to work?*

	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %
Business	85	15
Military	76	24
Science	64	36
News Media	61	39
Education	54	46
Law & Justice	54	46
Voluntary Associations	53	47
Religion	51	49
Government	48	52

* See methodology for numbers of respondents.

Table 167: Leadership Groups on Women's Rights

Do you favor or oppose efforts to strengthen women's rights in this country (for example equal pay for equal work, equality of opportunity)?*

	<u>Favor</u> %	<u>Oppose</u> %
General Public	88	12
Leaders	94	6
Voluntary Association	97	3
Government	96	4
Science	95	5
News Media	95	5
Education	95	5
Military	95	5
Law & Justice	95	5
Religion	94	6
Business	89	11

Table 168: Leadership Groups on Government Guaranteeing Good Standard of Living

Do you agree or disagree that the government ought to make sure everyone has a good standard of living?*

	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %
General Public	69	6	25
Leaders	31	10	59
Voluntary Associations	48	9	43
Religion	41	14	45
Government	37	11	52
News Media	32	8	60
Education	32	12	56
Law & Justice	26	9	65
Science	23	9	68
Military	20	11	69
Business	14	11	75

* See methodology for number of respondents.

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Table 169: Leadership Groups on Social Security Taxes

Do you agree or disagree that Social Security taxes should be increased if necessary to provide adequate income for older people?*

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
General Public	72	7	21
Leaders	54	11	35
Religion	66	10	24
Education	61	12	27
Voluntary Associations	59	11	30
Science	57	7	36
Government	55	16	29
News Media	52	10	38
Military	49	13	38
Law & Justice	40	11	49
Business	40	12	48

Table 170: Leadership Groups on Government Power

Do you agree or disagree that the government has too much power over the lives of average citizens?*

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
General Public	73	8	19
Leaders	70	10	20
Business	86	7	7
News Media	82	6	12
Religion	76	8	16
Law & Justice	71	11	18
Government	66	10	24
Military	65	11	24
Science	64	13	23
Voluntary Associations	64	11	25
Education	59	13	28

* See methodology for number of respondents.

Table 171: Leadership Groups on Acceptance Of Refugees

Do you agree or disagree that the United States has been too willing to accept refugees from Cuba and South Vietnam?*

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Agree %
General Public	76	7	17
Leaders	48	11	41
Business	72	9	19
Education	51	11	38
Voluntary Associations	51	12	37
Government	50	7	43
Science	48	11	41
News Media	47	13	40
Military	46	13	41
Law & Justice	40	12	48
Religion	36	10	54

Table 172: Leadership Groups on The Military

Do you agree or disagree that it is important for America to have the strongest military force in the world, no matter what it costs?*

	Agree %	Neither Agree Nor Disagree %	Disagree %
General Public	74	5	21
Leaders	50	7	43
Military	72	1	27
Business	69	6	25
News Media	57	7	36
Voluntary Associations	56	8	36
Government	51	8	41
Law & Justice	47	6	47
Religion	40	8	52
Science	38	11	51
Education	38	10	52

* See methodology for number of respondents.

**Chapter Seven:
Leaders of the Eighties**

Table 173: Leadership Groups on Peace-Time Draft

Do you agree or disagree that there should be a peace-time draft for men?*

	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %
General Public	60	9	31
Leaders	62	9	29
Military	80	6	14
Business	73	8	19
News Media	70	4	26
Science	62	11	27
Voluntary Associations	62	8	30
Government	60	7	33
Education	56	9	35
Law & Justice	56	13	31
Religion	51	9	40

Table 174: Leadership Groups on Female Draft

Do you agree or disagree that there should be a draft of women for combat duty?

	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %
General Public	25	7	68
Leaders	34	14	52
News Media	41	12	47
Law & Justice	40	14	46
Science	40	11	49
Government	38	14	48
Voluntary Associations	37	15	48
Education	34	21	45
Business	29	13	58
Military	28	10	62
Religion	21	12	67

* See methodology for number of respondents.

Table 175: Leadership Groups on Vietnam

Do you agree or disagree that our involvement in the war in Vietnam was unjustified?*

	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %
General Public	66	14	20
Leaders	62	9	29
News Media	73	5	22
Science	70	8	22
Religion	66	10	24
Education	66	11	23
Voluntary Associations	64	10	26
Government	61	12	27
Law & Justice	60	8	32
Business	57	11	32
Military	30	10	60

* See methodology for number of respondents.

**Conclusion:
Dangers and Opportunities**

Conclusion:

Dangers and Opportunities

In his book titled The Pursuit of Loneliness, sociologist Philip Slater warns that we Americans, in our historic quest for autonomy, wealth, and control over the environment, have failed to nourish a shared sense of identity, or "community." Perhaps a clear perception of mutual identity satisfies significant social needs which have been long neglected. In this context, the cultural evolution charted in The Connecticut Mutual Life Report may reveal an effort at restoration: a spontaneous revival of traditional values occurring throughout the country. Through their belief and behavior, most religious citizens demonstrate that a return to traditional certainties is one way to forge a sense of community. In their devotion to family, work, and community, the religiously committed demonstrate the resilience and healing power of traditional bonding. Although those who are rigidly certain that their beliefs are inherently superior to all others can be quite dangerous if they find themselves in positions of authority, in some respects their quest for certainty may make a positive contribution to social renewal.

**Conclusion:
Dangers and Opportunities**

Revitalization: Organized Movement or Cultural Shift?

A great deal of attention has been paid recently to the activity of zealous groups eager to convert society to their own belief system. But the question is: Does the religious and related moral fervor exemplified by groups such as the Moral Majority and emphasized in this report simply represent the emergence of effective, organized special interest groups intent upon a revitalization movement, or does it represent a more profound cultural shift?

A revitalization movement, according to noted anthropologist Anthony F.C. Wallace, is a deliberate, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture. Deliberate intent is a critical part of such a movement.* A cultural shift, by contrast, occurs by evolution, drift, or acculturation. It happens gradually and incrementally, through a chain reaction, and is not forged deliberately by a specific movement.

The Connecticut Mutual Life Report uncovers evidence supporting far more than a movement by one particularly well organized segment of American society. Rather, it confirms the vitality of a cultural current of religious commitment and moralism, and through them, a willingness to participate in family, occupational and civic concerns. The broad sweep of this religious commitment is confirmed principally by two findings:

*Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movement," American Anthropologist 58 (1956), pp 264-281.

- ° first, quite apart from the 26% of the 14 and over population identified as highly religious, most Americans consider themselves religious and engage in such activities as prayer and feeling that God loves them.
- ° second, the relation of religious commitment to all the aspects of American life investigated in this report resembles a smooth progression, a ladder of several rungs, with sizeable groups of Americans located at each rung. There is a steady progression, for example, -- from 49% to 52% to 61% to 64% to 77% -- moving from the least religious to the most when Americans are asked whether they vote in local elections. This pattern is remarkably consistent throughout the report. Americans, in other words, are not found clustered at one end or another of the spectrum of religious commitment. They are almost evenly distributed on a continuum of belief and activity.

To be sure, there is a substantial amount of historical continuity in Americans' religious commitment, as discussed in the Introduction to this report. It may also be true, however, that today someone's level of commitment has a demonstrably more significant impact on a wide range of beliefs and activities than it has had in the recent past. There is substantial evidence supporting this conclusion.

Conclusion: Dangers and Opportunities

In the 1960's conflicts arose between young and old, male and female, and Black and White. Divisions between blue collar and white collar, poor and wealthy, and liberal and conservative persisted. The Connecticut Mutual Life Report, however, reveals that these divisions, once so visible in American life, are far less important than they seem to have been in the recent past. Although some evidence of a generation gap remains, and although different education levels are somewhat associated with differences among Americans, we are not so much a nation of rich or poor, male or female, or even liberal or conservative. Rather, we are increasingly a nation with different levels of religious commitment, and those levels of commitment are strongly related to significant choices citizens make about their families, jobs, and communities.

This major finding is particularly important in light of recent widespread discussions concerning the disintegration of the family, the community, the American work ethic, and faith in our political institutions and leaders. This report clearly demonstrates that it is via religious commitment that some Americans have been able to retain their faith in family, community, work, and in the American political process.

Implications for Leadership

In the midst of this cultural shift, the search for leadership takes on special meaning. It is commonly assumed by political scholars that

Americans vote for a particular political candidate not because they are responsive to a special interest group, but rather because they are moral and sincere. It follows that leaders who are viewed as seriously lacking in moral character, inner strength, or competence might be among the most disliked leaders.

The Connecticut Mutual Life Report confirms this traditional expectation. Both the general public and leaders consider Richard Nixon the worst leader in our history (by pluralities of about 50%), and the predominant reason for that judgment is "immorality." The second most disliked leader is Jimmy Carter, and the prevailing reason given for that judgment is incompetence.

The public and leaders appear to differ in describing what they like most in a leader, however. Leaders are relatively consistent in choosing leaders known for their strength or competence in periods of national crisis: Presidents Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Truman.

The public, however, rates President Kennedy first (25% of the selections), and President Lincoln second (with 12% of the selection). The remainder of those who received significant mentions include Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Carter, and Eisenhower, who each received between six to eight percent of the mentions. The only non-president frequently mentioned by the public (receiving about eight percent of the mentions) was Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

**Conclusion:
Dangers and Opportunities**

Whatever else may be said about the two highest rated leaders, Kennedy and Lincoln, it is clear that they were assassinated while in office and therefore qualify for martyrdom in American's pantheon of leaders who sacrificed their most precious possession: life itself. (The third ranked leader, Roosevelt, also died in office.) A further clue suggests the significance of a capacity for martyrdom as an admired qualification for American leaders. The only non-president often mentioned by the public as belonging to its most admired category is Martin Luther King, Jr., who was also assassinated.

It is important for leaders to recognize that America is a nation searching for leaders who are willing to dedicate themselves, even their lives, to the greater national good. Inspired by such a leader, Americans will respond to a call to faith. It has been demonstrated that there is a sizeable gap between public expectations and leadership performance; and that public is prepared to evaluate political leaders largely in terms of their capacity to evoke symbols of commitment. These twin observations present the American political system simultaneously with a great opportunity and a great danger. The opportunity lies in the opening for a visionary leader to mobilize large numbers of people for national programs of self-sacrifice and devotion to shared goals. The danger lies in the opening for a divisive leader to mobilize large numbers in the service of a partisan campaign to blame the nation's troubles on one group or another labeled "immoral."

In either case, Americans are currently quick to judge public issues and leadership in moral terms and to express general disappointment with national leaders. Whether public energy is directed toward socially useful or socially destructive ends may depend in no small measure on the quality of today's leaders. The leaders of the coming decades can become statesmen or demagogues. Whichever role they choose, their capacity for influence is vast. But clearly, by striking a particular moral posture, leaders can acquire tremendous civic support for a wide array of public goals.

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METHODOLOGY

A multi-stage research design was used in conducting this study of American values and leadership. The first phase consisted of qualitative and background research undertaken to generate hypotheses and develop topic areas for the second phase. In the second phase, two large surveys were conducted: one among the general public and one among ten different leadership groups. The third and final phase was devoted to data analysis.

Phase I: Qualitative and Background Research

The purpose of this phase was to review past and current research on American values and leadership to uncover topic areas of significance. The focus of our investigation was on American values, particularly as they changed over the last two decades, and on current thinking about any possible "leadership crisis" in America.

Four different approaches were used in this phase:

Literature Review

The first task in the qualitative phase of the research was a review of available literature on values and on leadership, conducted by members of the Research & Forecasts staff. This review encompassed both popular newspapers and magazines, including the New York Times computerized data base, scholarly books and journal articles. Reports from other surveys and studies were reviewed as well.

Methodology

Focus Groups

Five focus groups were conducted in different locations throughout the United States: Boston, New York, Los Angeles, Omaha and Atlanta. The participants in these groups were drawn from the cities in which the groups were conducted so that they would represent a cross-section of Americans: working and non-working, Whites and Blacks, men and women, college-educated and non-college-educated. One of the groups (New York) was composed entirely of women. A total of 43 people participated in the focus group discussions.

Advisory Panel

To provide input and guidance to the study, a panel was formed of nationally known experts in various fields. This group was consulted during all phases of the study, and the completed report reflects many of their contributions. A list of the members of the advisory panel can be found at the front of the report.

Interviews with Journalists

Finally, to obtain further information about contemporary thought on American values, interviews were conducted with 50 working journalists from the print and electronic media, including editors from daily and Sunday newspapers, general new magazines, television and radio news programs and specialized magazines.

Phase II: Quantitative Surveys of the Public and Its Leaders

Two separate surveys were conducted in the quantitative phase: a telephone survey of a national sample of American adults and adolescents and a mail survey of American leaders.

General Public Sample

The population for this study is the total set of Americans aged 14 and older. To reach this group, 2,018 interviews were conducted within the continental United States. Respondents were reached by random digit dialing, from a sample provided by Survey Sampling, Incorporated, of Westport, Connecticut.

Random digit dialing is the most widely used sampling technique in the United States. This method provides a statistically efficient way of obtaining representative samples of the general public at reasonable cost. Responses have been shown to be comparable to those obtained from in-person interviews. Furthermore, two of the initial drawbacks of telephone interviewing have now been substantially overcome: most American households have telephone connections, and unlisted numbers and new listings can be reached via random digit dialing.*

The main sample of 1,610 respondents was supplemented by an oversample of 408 interviews to provide sufficient numbers of teenagers, senior citizens and blacks for separate analyses of these subgroups. In the data analysis phase, these oversamples were combined with the main sample, then the oversampled cells were weighted to match census figures. Combining the main and oversamples, a total of 235 blacks, 366 teenagers and 294 senior citizens were interviewed.

*Klecka, W.R. and Tuchfarber, A.J., "Random digit dialing: A comparison to personal surveys," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1978, 42, 105-114.

These authors report that in 1976, over 90% of U.S. households contained a working telephone connection. When aggregate responses from telephone and U.S. Census interviewing are compared, no appreciable differences are noted.

Methodology

Leadership Sample

Ten different groups were selected for study, including leaders in:

Business	Education	Government
Law & Justice	Military	News Media
Religion	Science	Voluntary Associations
Entertainers & Celebrities		

Samples were drawn from all ten categories according to criteria used by Who's Who; in five cases, the actual Who's Who listings were employed, and in five cases comparable listings were obtained from other sources. Efforts were made to include women in the sample, as they represent an interesting, and growing, group of leaders. Approximately 500 names were drawn for each group sampled.

Leadership Sample

<u>Group</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Total Listing</u>
Business	<u>Who's Who in Finance & Industry</u> ¹	18,500
Education	<u>Who's Who In Education</u> ¹	15,000
Government	<u>Top Federal Officials</u> ²	22,000
Law & Justice	<u>Who's Who in American Law</u> ¹	34,000
Military	Top officials: DOD, Army, Navy and Air Force ²	1,140
News Media	Columnists, commentators, new directors of radio, TV and newspapers	585
Religion	<u>Who's Who In Religion</u> ¹	18,000
Science	<u>Who's Who in Science</u> ¹	15,000
Voluntary Associations	Directors, Presidents and Chairpersons of stratified sample of voluntary associations ³	11,500
Entertainers & Celebrities	<u>How to Reach Anyone Who's Anyone</u> ⁴	3,000

¹ The sources listed are directories published by Marquis, Chicago, Illinois. The most recent available listings were used.

² The sources listed were developed according to the same criteria as Who's Who. The Alvin Zeller Corporation and Research & Forecasts prepared the listing.

³ From the Encyclopedia of Associations, published by Gale Research Company, Detroit, Michigan.

⁴ By Michael Levine. Published by Price/Stern/Sloan, Los Angeles, California.

Methodology

Data Collection -- General Public

Fifty trained interviewers conducted phone interviews for a period of ten weeks: September 1 to November 15, 1980. The interviews were conducted on weekdays and on weekends, between the hours of 10:00 AM and 11:00 PM. The interviews took an average of 55 minutes to complete.

In order to ensure that the respondents interviewed represent a random sample of the total U.S. population, at least three call-backs were made to each telephone number that had not yielded a complete interview. A final response rate of 39%* was obtained. The components of the response rate are listed below.

*See Phase III: Data Analysis for a discussion of weighting and comparison of our data to other data for evaluation of potential non-response bias.

General Public Response Rates

	<u>MAIN</u>	<u>OVERSAMPLE</u>
<u>Completed Interview</u>	<u>1,610</u> (39%)	<u>408</u> (28%)
<u>Non-Response</u>	<u>2,471</u> (61%)	<u>1,053</u> (72%)
Refusals	2,117	967
Terminated interviews	354	86
<u>Total Potential Respondents</u>	<u>4,081</u> (100%)	<u>1,461</u> (100%)
<u>Excluded From Sample</u>	<u>2,919</u>	<u>3,539</u>
Disconnected	1,216	871
Never Answered	897	653
Always Busy	120	83
Business/Government	527	446
Deaf/Language Problem	159	73
Not Qualified	0	1,413
<u>Total Number of Calls</u>	<u>7,000</u>	<u>5,000</u>

Methodology

For the oversample interviews, a response rate of 28% was obtained, reflecting the difficulty of reaching selected segments of the general population. The practical necessity of including sensitive screening questions (particularly racial identity) at the beginning of the interview undoubtedly led to a reduction in response rate.

Data Collection -- Leadership Groups

The leadership survey was conducted entirely by mail, using the questionnaire included in this report. A week before mailing the actual questionnaire, potential respondents were sent a "pre-mailing" letter advising them of the survey, briefly describing the purpose of the study, and indicating that the questionnaire would arrive within a few days. Surveys were mailed November 3-13, 1980. Returns were included in the final sample for a period of three weeks after mailing of the questionnaires, and a final overall response rate of 40% was obtained.

In all categories except one the response to the mailed questionnaire was exceptionally good. One group, entertainers and celebrities, yielded so few respondents (only 37 returns were received, out of 500 surveys mailed) that this subsample was dropped from the analysis.

Leadership Sample

	Potential Returns ¹ #	Number of Returns #	Return Rate %
Business	411	169	41
Education	444	229	52
Government	566	161	28
Law & Justice	493	256	52
Military	485	159	33
News Media	585	158	27
Religion	395	232	59
Science	477	221	46
Voluntary Associations	527	177	34
TOTAL²	4,383	1,762	40%

¹ Number mailed out less non-deliverable addressees.

² The tenth category -- Entertainers & Celebrities -- was not included in the final sample. Only 37 respondents in this category returned the survey, a response rate too low to be included in the study.

Methodology

Phase III: Data Analysis

Weighting

In order to make valid projections to the entire population of the United States, our sample should match the total U.S. population on key demographic variables.¹ Due to the presence of oversampled groups as well as sampling fluctuations, it was necessary to weight our data to match Census figures on five characteristics: age, ethnic origin, gender, education, and family income.

Since a number of these demographic variables are intercorrelated, a rather complicated weighting scheme had to be followed. Precautions were taken to keep the variance of the weights small, so that no observation would be given a very high or a very low weight. On the two variables with the strongest interaction -- gender and education -- males and females were weighted separately at each education level. The weights for gender and education were determined from their marginal distributions, according to the Stephan method presented by Deming.²

¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1979. Washington, D.C., 1979.

² Deming, W.E., Statistical Adjustment of Data. New York: Wiley, 1943.

The overall success of the weighting can be judged from the accompanying table. The final weighted sample matches Census figures very closely. Furthermore, the weights themselves are typically not very large or very small. The mean of the weights is 1.0, with a standard deviation of .51, and a range of .26 to 3.3. A final adjustment was applied to produce a total weighted sample size of 1,610 -- the size of the main sample.

In this report, unless otherwise noted, all figures for the general public were obtained from weighted data.

A number of Connecticut Mutual Life survey results corroborate what some other surveys have suggested, which also confirms the representativeness of the sample. Recent trend data on the religious behavior of Americans, for example, reveals that our results match what other researchers have been finding:

- ... According to the most recent Gallup Polls, church attendance stands at 41% saying they attend at least once a week. Our study revealed that 44% say they frequently attend religious services.
- ... Gallup found that in 1978 40% of the population said they had been "born again." Our study found that 47% had made a personal commitment to Christ.
- ... Harris has found that 22% listen to religious broadcasts on radio or television. We found that 22% listen to religious broadcasts.

Since the leadership sample was drawn from inherently heterogeneous populations with unknown background characteristics, no weighting was performed on these data.

Methodology

Distribution of General Public Sample on Key Demographic Variables

	<u>Unweighted</u> %	<u>Weighted</u> %	<u>Census</u> %
<u>Education</u>			
Not high school graduate	23.3	34.3	34.1
High school graduate	32.9	35.7	36.1
Some college & beyond	43.8	30.0	29.8
<u>Age</u>			
14-20	18.2	17.8	17.2
21-24	10.0	9.6	9.5
25-34	23.3	18.3	19.9
35-49	18.4	20.3	20.2
50-64	15.5	19.9	18.9
65 and over	14.6	14.1	14.1
<u>Ethnic Origin</u>			
Black	11.7	11.0	11.0
White, Spanish origin & other	88.3	89.0	89.0
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	37.2	47.9	48.0
Female	62.8	52.1	52.0
<u>Income</u>			
Under \$7,000	16.7	16.8	16.5
\$7,000 - \$15,000	28.6	29.4	29.4
\$15,000 - \$25,000	29.0	31.7	31.7
Above \$25,000	25.7	22.1	22.4

Sampling Distribution

Data collection techniques ensured that the randomness of the telephone number selection process was maintained. The random selection process is required to gain access to probability theory to measure the sampling error for proportions reported in this study.

The normal approximation of the 95% confidence limits for the dichotomized percentage results of the sample may be computed as follows:

$$\text{Sample Confidence Limits} = p \pm \left[1.96 \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{(n-1)}} + \frac{1}{2n} \right]$$

where p is the percentage result divided by 100, and n is the sample size, excluding missing data.

A table of the estimated sampling error for binomial percentage at the 95% confidence level is reproduced below.

Methodology

Estimated Sampling Error For A Percentage

(95% Confidence Level)

<u>Sample Size</u>	<u>50/50</u>	<u>60/40</u>	<u>70/30</u>	<u>80/20</u>	<u>90/10</u>
100	10.0	9.8	9.2	8.0	6.0
200	7.1	6.9	6.5	5.7	4.2
300	5.8	5.7	5.3	4.6	3.5
400	5.0	4.9	4.6	4.0	3.0
500	4.5	4.4	4.1	3.6	2.7
600	4.1	4.0	3.7	3.3	2.4
700	3.8	3.7	3.5	3.0	2.3
800	3.5	3.5	3.2	2.8	2.1
900	3.3	3.3	3.1	2.7	2.0
1,000	3.2	3.1	2.9	2.5	1.9
1,500	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.0	1.5
2,000	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.3

The sample size of 1,610 thus ensures that the statistics collected for the sample and the conclusions drawn from data analysis will be valid, within a 2% to 3% margin of error.

The sample sizes used in calculating margins of error will be smaller for subgroups than for the total sample. The following table shows the number of respondents in each of the key subgroups. These sample

sizes apply to all crosstabulation tables with the exception of measures of work involvement. Since questions about work were asked only of those who were working, the sample sizes for work crosstabulations are generally half the sample sizes in the following table.

It should be noted that since certain groups were oversampled, it is necessary to use the unweighted sample sizes to gauge sampling error. In all other sections of this report only weighted data are reported.

Division of respondents according to region of the country was performed according to the scheme used by the U.S. Census Bureau (Statistical Abstract, 1979). The regions were defined as follows:

- ... Northeast: Pennsylvania, New Jersey and states north and east.
- ... South: Delaware, Maryland, W. Virginia, Kentucky, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas and states to the south and east.
- ... Midwest: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and states north.
- ... West: Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico and states to the west.

Methodology

Sample Sizes for Key Subgroups, from Unweighted Data

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>
Lowest	363
Low	654
Moderate	477
High	324
Highest	200
<u>Age</u>	
14-20	366
21-24	201
25-34	468
35-49	371
50-64	312
65 and over	294
<u>Gender</u>	
Male	742
Female	1,255
<u>Region</u>	
Northeast	467
West	322
Midwest	526
South	661
<u>Place of Residence</u>	
Large City	493
Small City	617
Suburb	392
Rural	441
<u>Race</u>	
White	1,683
Black	235
<u>Income</u>	
Under \$12,000	568
\$12,000 to \$25,000	717
Above \$25,000	447
<u>Education</u>	
11th grade or less	468
High school graduate	659
Some college or more	881

Sample Sizes for Key Subgroups, from Unweighted Data (continued)

	<u>Number of Respondents</u>
<u>Political Orientation</u>	
Liberal	451
Moderate	855
Conservative	564
<u>Marital Status</u>	
Single	638
Married	1,024
Previously married	344
<u>Occupation</u>	
Professional	602
White Collar	332
Blue Collar	524
<u>Party Affiliation</u>	
Republican	493
Democrat	724
Independent/Other	658

Methodology

Statistical Analyses

The bulk of analyses reported in the text are illustrated with cross-tabulation data. In addition to examining these tables, a number of other procedures were employed to uncover relationships among the variables studied. First, factor analyses were performed on a number of items in the general public survey. Next, for each of the main topic areas of the report -- religion, interpersonal relationships, community involvement, work, and political attitudes -- regression analysis was used to identify variables of significance in determining responses.

In addition to factor and regression analyses, the following computations and procedures were employed to shape the overall analysis:

- ... percent difference scores;
- ... measures of correlation;
- ... three-way crosstabulations; and,
- ... examination of the shape of the functions relating variables to one another: whether they are monotonic or U-shaped.

Conclusions about the predictive power of various factors are made by taking into consideration all of these criteria. No single criterion is considered sufficient to establish a clear association between two variables.

Factor Analyses were performed on two sets of items: the 27 questions about current issues (V606 to V631) and the 63 activities and experiences in Part 1 of the questionnaire. The latter variables included questions about leisure time activities, work involvement, interpersonal relations, community involvement and religious activities. Although analyses of both the present and future ratings were conducted, the present behaviors were selected for further analyses since the results were parallel in the two sets.

Factor analysis of political attitudes revealed the potential existence of three factors: an "inclusive" orientation defined by feeling that government should distribute wealth as widely as possible; an "exclusive" orientation defined by opinions that the rights of the individual or the nation should be protected against encroachment; and a "shrinking government" orientation composed of items that indicate a desire to reduce the role of government in American life.

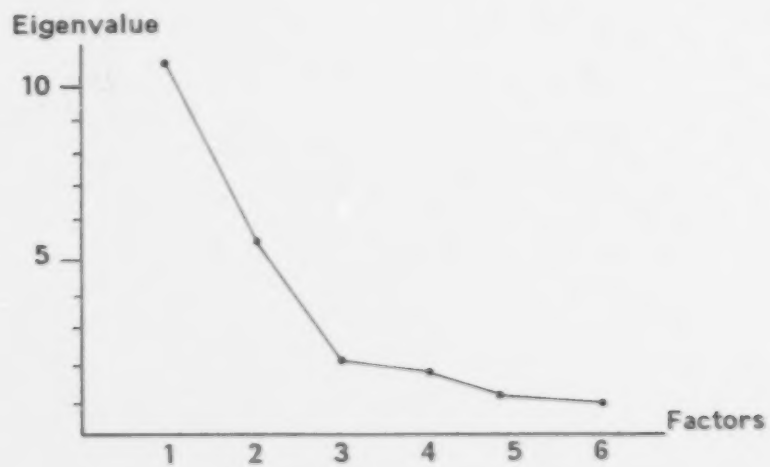
None of these factors proved to be significant predictors of attitudes expressed about other types of values. Indeed, the factors themselves were not highly consistent and showed relatively low predictive power even among the set of political attitudes.

Methodology

Factor analysis of present behaviors indicated that two factors might be identified: one of work involvement and another of religious commitment. In both unrotated and Varimax rotated factor coefficient matrices, variables relating to work are clearly grouped on one factor, variables relating to religious commitment are grouped on a second factor, with the remaining factors showing less consistent patterns, as well as accounting for relatively little variance. A scree test of the Eigenvalues in the unrotated factor space indicates that two factors account for most of the common variance, and that each additional factor beyond two contributes relatively little to the common factor space. As seen by inspection of the factor matrix, there is little evidence for interpreting more than two factors.

Table: Evaluation of 15-Dimensional Common Factor Space

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Eigenvalue</u>	<u>Cumulative Percent of Common Variance</u>
1	10.8	39.3
2	5.5	59.4
3	2.2	67.5
4	1.9	74.5
5	1.2	79.0
6	1.0	82.7

Scree Test:

Methodology

Identification of Work and Religious Involvement Factors: Rotated Factor Matrix from Factor Analysis of 63 Behaviors and Experiences.

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
V106	0.02956	-0.05245	0.02035	0.54111	0.02668	0.05763
V108	0.06995	-0.08363	0.12629	0.04050	0.05859	0.05722
V110	0.03957	-0.00005	0.03428	0.14784	0.07034	0.08688
V112	0.06922	-0.00670	-0.04033	0.02086	0.06449	0.21343
V114	0.07438	-0.08760	-0.04643	0.39099	-0.03754	-0.09891
V116	-0.04210	0.05333	-0.01370	-0.03633	0.09275	0.10529
V118	0.00734	-0.00501	-0.00843	-0.14835	0.24857	0.01882
V120	-0.00383	0.10120	0.25265	0.03720	0.12863	-0.05454
V122	-0.08249	0.02384	0.01608	-0.01819	0.05198	-0.07738
V124	-0.01527	0.08967	0.16953	-0.09124	0.14076	0.17317
V126	-0.06033	0.10012	0.11345	-0.06258	0.11629	0.01839
V128	-0.15061	0.08952	0.13686	-0.18446	0.01563	-0.00741
V130	0.05689	0.04538	0.01181	0.47073	-0.03575	-0.04523
V141	0.82738	-0.04580	-0.03358	0.02426	0.03766	0.00817
V143	0.90800	-0.06463	0.00999	0.03275	0.01015	0.00790
V145	0.67743	-0.02998	0.01905	0.02800	-0.03436	-0.05816
V147	0.94933	-0.05182	-0.01280	0.02957	-0.01183	0.01774
V149	0.89394	-0.03306	0.01941	0.02074	0.01029	0.05777
V151	0.95996	-0.07166	-0.00725	0.02186	-0.01604	0.00898
V153	0.87618	-0.04892	0.03527	0.02785	0.05095	0.05156
V155	0.70127	-0.05127	0.03398	0.01658	-0.02381	0.08582
V157	0.66644	-0.05716	-0.02455	0.07988	0.01584	0.02875
V159	0.93156	-0.02881	-0.00269	-0.02438	-0.00180	0.01515
V161	0.88272	0.01326	0.02876	0.01900	-0.01746	0.06111
V163	0.92489	-0.03461	0.00109	-0.00822	0.02715	0.03419
V165	0.64123	-0.05628	-0.01386	-0.02418	-0.07258	0.06703
V167	0.90359	-0.06358	-0.01196	0.01184	0.03849	-0.02659
V169	0.47945	-0.09538	-0.01542	0.07412	-0.11431	-0.05732
V206	0.03598	0.16884	0.08611	0.00072	0.20647	0.52244
V208	0.03863	0.08657	-0.04244	0.06740	0.29586	0.30585
V210	0.02241	0.17745	0.07501	0.16484	0.08016	0.49834
V212	-0.05658	0.05118	0.04575	0.23984	0.43998	0.03561
V214	0.09304	0.10500	0.02201	-0.32623	0.23936	0.37088
V216	-0.04558	0.02907	0.04262	-0.01990	0.67629	0.06976
V218	0.02546	0.18593	0.07078	-0.03447	0.55399	0.20382
V220	0.06195	0.00503	0.01566	-0.08376	0.37827	0.07370
V223	0.05177	0.13649	0.12601	0.19971	-0.02273	0.03751
V224	0.05114	0.16716	0.09112	0.16492	0.13809	0.26730
V225	0.05667	-0.03734	-0.02584	-0.04164	0.00030	0.24523
V226	0.01075	0.09969	-0.01553	-0.05230	0.10935	0.52615
V227	0.09630	-0.10120	0.07400	0.21985	-0.01979	-0.17776
V229	-0.03484	0.07478	0.06237	0.08123	0.00053	0.00055
V231	-0.03284	0.11452	0.01844	-0.08454	0.30267	0.10734
V245	0.06143	0.03675	0.19973	0.03201	-0.00323	-0.00818
V247	-0.04689	0.03220	0.14575	0.05422	0.12899	0.03360
V249	0.00548	0.04617	0.31344	-0.00776	0.00672	0.02110

Identification of Work and Religious Involvement Factors:
 Rotated Factor Matrix from Factor Analysis of 63 Behaviors
 and Experiences. (continued)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
V251	0.16869	-0.13816	0.19993	0.11355	0.02190	-0.02305
V253	-0.02747	0.10341	0.22553	0.17561	0.00643	0.02958
V255	-0.00563	0.10096	0.19411	-0.10565	0.04540	0.02395
V257	0.05947	0.11534	0.44384	0.02655	0.00584	-0.02467
V259	-0.02434	0.18257	0.50760	0.06188	0.07516	-0.00470
V261	-0.01076	0.19697	0.60591	-0.03033	0.04545	0.05730
V270	-0.02621	0.53051	0.06764	-0.06189	0.10309	0.10407
V271	0.01570	0.05887	-0.04898	-0.03096	-0.01199	0.08770
V273	-0.03053	0.55835	0.09961	0.01863	-0.00234	0.04288
V306	-0.07279	0.66561	0.10690	-0.01241	0.13775	0.17525
V308	-0.11737	0.66298	0.11735	-0.05983	0.05909	0.06160
V310	-0.06897	0.74168	0.06762	0.01405	0.07305	0.00773
V312	-0.05311	0.65043	0.10689	0.10229	0.12545	0.23146
V314	-0.06515	0.59001	0.01000	-0.09941	0.03921	0.02621
V316	-0.08045	0.69694	0.08987	0.00635	0.03513	0.07548
V318	-0.07838	0.57668	0.10643	-0.02238	0.03583	-0.00285
V320	-0.04652	0.63824	0.08099	0.01617	0.01199	0.02801

Key to Factor Matrix

<u>Code</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>Items</u>
V106-V130	13	Leisure time activities (Frequency Now)
V141-V169	15	Work activities, experiences and feelings (Frequency Now)
V206-V220	8	Community activities and feelings (Frequency Now)
V223-V231	7	Community questions (Questions 15-20, 22)
V245-V261	9	Interpersonal activities (importance)
V270-V273	3	Religious questions (Questions 30, 31, 33)
V306-V320	8	Religious activities and feelings (Frequency Now)

The questionnaire included with this report contains the complete wording of all questions.

Methodology

Scales of both the work and religious items were attempted. Guttman Scaling analysis revealed that the religious items form a cumulative, unidimensional scale, but the work items do not. The Guttman Scaling statistics for the work involvement items were: coefficient of reproducibility = .79 and coefficient of scalability = .23. An index of work involvement was constructed and cross-tabulated with items from the other sections of the questionnaire, but this revealed that degree of work involvement is not related to values in other areas of life.

Construction of Composite Measure of Religious Commitment

To ensure valid measurement, a composite variable was constructed to measure religious commitment. The use of a composite measure is particularly important for three reasons: 1) to minimize bias which may be found in responses to individual items; (2) to provide a broad range of variation with varying levels of intensity; and 3) to provide a valuable technique for data reduction. The following eight items were evaluated for inclusion in the composite measure:

1. Feeling that God loves you (V318);
2. Engaging in prayer (V308);
3. Attending religious services (V306);
4. Reading the Bible (V316);
5. Having something you call a religious experience (V320);
6. Participating in a church social activity (V312);
7. Encouraging others to turn to religion (V310); and
8. Listening to religious broadcasts (V314)

An examination of the interitem correlations reveals strong consistency among all eight variables. Furthermore, a Guttman Scaling analysis reveals that the variables differentiate people according to the degree of religious commitment they exhibit. The statistics for this analysis are based on dichotomization of the items into "frequently" versus "occasionally" and "never" responses.

Methodology

Interitem Correlations for Scale of Religious Commitment

	V306	V308	V310	V312	V314	V316	V318	V320
V308	.78							
V310	.68	.77						
V312	.91	.74	.43					
V314	.56	.59	.72	.63				
V316	.74	.79	.78	.74	.69			
V318	.68	.75	.77	.71	.72	.80		
V320	.65	.77	.81	.68	.71	.76	.86	
Scale-Item Correlation:	.71	.69	.76	.75	.61	.77	.60	.75

These correlations are quite high, and in conjunction with the Guttman Scaling statistics listed below they reveal the existence of a undimensional scale with strong internal consistency.

Guttman Scaling statistics:

Coefficient of reporducibility: 0.8488

Coefficient of scalability: 0.4878

The results of this analysis reveal that a person who scores highest on the religious commitment scale -- characterized by listening to religious broadcasts and encouraging others to turn to religion -- is very likely also to do (or feel) all the other more frequent practices or experiences on the scale. Likewise, someone who obtains a middle score on the scale is likely to engage in the more frequent activities (feeling that

God loves them, engaging in prayer), but is not likely to engage in the less common activities such as listening to religious broadcasts or encouraging others to turn to religion.

Scores on the scale of religious commitment can be interpreted as indicating the relative amounts of commitment felt by respondents. A score of zero does not necessarily mean that a respondent has no religious commitment, but it does mean that a respondent (and they were 18% of the sample) has less religious commitment than the vast majority of Americans. Likewise, a person with a score of 4 on the scale does not have twice as much religious commitment as a person with a score of 2. The scale measures only relative level of religious commitment.

Ultimately, the test of the validity of any measure rests with its predictive utility: Does the scale relate in a meaningful way to other attitudes and characteristics being studied? The answer to this question is an unqualified "yes." As documented in this report, the scale of religious commitment has consistent and meaningful relationships with a host of other variables under investigation.

The analysis of crosstabulations reveals that religious commitment has a strong and consistently monotonic relationship with a number of statements of social and political values. Community participation, for example, increases consistently with increased religious commitment. Other variables reveal the same sort of smooth, monotonic associations with religious commitment, as revealed by examination of percent differences and other measures of association.

Methodology

Further evidence of the scientific validity of this type of scale was obtained from interviews with scholars who have studied religion. When interviewed, most experts agree that:

- ... We have tapped the major components of religious commitment;
- ... There have been no other studies of this scope which so thoroughly examine the impact of religious commitment on values;
- ... It is consistent with their expectations that such a measure of religious involvement would be related to political and social attitudes;

A literature search also reveals that this measurement of religious commitment is a logical extension of current work in the field. In trying to analyze the nature of religious involvement, researchers have for the last twenty years made finer and finer distinction among the varieties of religious experience. This has led to a proliferation of measures which show confusing and sometimes contradictory patterns of intercorrelation. Large-scale social surveys (the ones conducted by the Gallup Organization, National Opinion Research Center, or the Survey Research Center, for example) have usually not measured religious involvement beyond denominational affiliation or church attendance. Several smaller studies have focused on a single town or city and have revealed only small pieces of the impact of religion, as we have also found, but our study documents the impact of religion throughout the entire country.

Regression Analyses and 3-Way Crosstabulations

In order to evaluate the significance of background variables (e.g., demographics) as determinants of respondents' values, multiple regression analyses were performed on 5 sets of variables:

- ... 8 variables indicating community involvement;
- ... 12 variables indicating attitudes toward interpersonal relationships;
- ... 10 moral issues;
- ... 16 variables indicating work involvement; and
- ... 3 variables indicating belief in the system and political attitudes.

A stepwise regression analysis was used to determine which background variables are significant predictors of answers to the value questions. Additionally, multiple regression analyses were used to determine whether religious commitment has a significant impact on value questions when other background characteristics (e.g., age, education, gender) are controlled.

The results of the regression analyses indicate that:

- ... religious commitment is the best predictor of community involvement and satisfaction, followed by age (older people are more involved);
- ... religious commitment is important in determining one's family values, although it is equaled in importance by family status (being married and/or having children);
- ... religious commitment is clearly the best predictor of moral attitudes;

Methodology

- ... work involvement is not predicted well by any variables, although high work involvement tends to be associated with being older, professional, and more religious; and
- ... belief in the national political system is somewhat greater among the less educated than among the more educated and more religious, but the impact is not powerful.

Regression analyses were also run on over two dozen statements of political attitudes. These analyses showed few consistent patterns, and relatively little predictive success. The political attitudes examined do not appear to be determined by one's demographic characteristics, or by religious commitment.

The degree of religious commitment was also predicted from the same set of independent variables (excluding itself, of course). Eight background characteristics were identified as having a significant impact on religious commitment, independent of the impact of other background variables. Compared to less religious Americans, the more religious tend to be:

- ... older;
- ... female;
- ... live in the South;
- ... black;
- ... conservative in political orientation;
- ... less educated;
- ... Republican; and
- ... less affluent.

Three-way crosstabulations were performed in addition to the multiple regression analyses, to provide yet another check on the impact of religious commitment. The analysis reveals that the impact of religious commitment on community participation, interpersonal relationships, work and belief in the political system cannot be accounted for by the operation of other background characteristics, such as education, age or occupational status:

- ... The effect of religious commitment on community participation is strong for all age groups;
- ... Belief in the political system is stronger among the more religious, regardless of their educational level;
- ... The more religious are more strongly committed to interpersonal relationships than are the less religious, regardless of age; and,
- ... The more religious are more involved in their work than the less religious, regardless of occupational status.

Methodology

Impact of Religious Commitment on Selected Community Participation Variables, Controlling for Age

Voting in
local elections:
(Percent
responding
"frequently")

	Level of Religious Commitment				
	<u>Lowest</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Moderate</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Highest</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Age</u>					
Under 35	33	31	40	40	58
35-64	73	77	74	74	78
65 and over	78	69	82	76	96

Attending
community or
neighborhood
meetings: (Per-
cent responding
"frequently")

	Level of Religious Commitment				
	<u>Lowest</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Moderate</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Highest</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Age</u>					
Under 35	2	5	12	11	24
35-64	9	8	19	20	29
65 and over	5	14	17	23	57

Discussing local
issues with friends
and neighbors: (Per-
cent responding
"frequently")

	Level of Religious Commitment				
	<u>Lowest</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Moderate</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Highest</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Age</u>					
Under 35	27	29	40	37	46
35-64	40	42	47	40	55
65 and over	43	31	43	66	60

Impact of Religious Commitment on Selected Community
Participation Variables, Controlling for Age (continued)

Do you feel you
can have a signif-
icant influence on
the way your
community is run?
(Percent responding
"frequently")

	Level of Religious Commitment				
	<u>Lowest</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Moderate</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Highest</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Age</u>					
Under 35	35	45	66	63	71
35-64	38	51	49	46	67
65 and over	35	31	39	42	66

Methodology

Impact of Religious Commitment on Belief in the Political System, Controlling for Education

The most important national problems, such as energy, inflation and crime can be solved through traditional American politics.
(Percent agreeing.)

	Level of Religious Commitment				
	Lowest %	Low %	Moderate %	High %	Highest %
Education					
11th grade or less	32	46	50	45	42
High school graduate	29	41	35	42	40
Some college or more	28	30	28	30	39

The most important decisions on public issues are best left in the hand of our leaders.
(Percent agreeing.)

	Level of Religious Commitment				
	Lowest %	Low %	Moderate %	High %	Highest %
Education					
11th grade or less	45	50	51	48	60
High school graduate	37	37	50	56	58
Some college or more	31	33	35	30	32

The way people vote is the main thing that decides the way things are run in this country.
(Percent agreeing.)

	Level of Religious Commitment				
	Lowest %	Low %	Moderate %	High %	Highest %
Education					
11th grade or less	37	53	58	54	72
High school graduate	34	41	43	50	65
Some college or more	28	29	34	38	42

Impact of Religious Commitment on Selected Interpersonal
Relationship Variables, Controlling for Age

Doing things as a
family group (Per-
cent responding
"very important").

	Level of Religious Commitment				
	Lowest %	Low %	Moderate %	High %	Highest %
Age					
14-20	45	49	66	75	87
21-49	62	71	86	91	93
50 and over	58	72	84	80	93

Playing with
children (Per-
cent responding
"very important").

	Level of Religious Commitment				
	Lowest %	Low %	Moderate %	High %	Highest %
Age					
14-20	39	44	66	72	70
21-49	59	72	81	86	85
50 and over	46	62	73	77	84

Having a reward-
ing sexual relation-
ship (Percent
responding
"very important")

	Level of Religious Commitment				
	Lowest %	Low %	Moderate %	High %	Highest %
Age					
14-20	58	56	55	40	37
21-49	76	73	75	75	79
50 and over	49	57	42	34	44

Methodology

Impact of Religious Commitment on Selected Interpersonal Relationship Variables, Controlling for Age (continued)

A woman with young
children should not
work outside the home
unless it is financially
necessary

(Percent agreeing).

	Level of Religious Commitment				
	Lowest	Low	Moderate	High	Highest
	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Age</u>					
14-20	59	63	65	71	80
21-49	57	64	65	69	83
50 and over	71	82	85	89	92

Impact of Religious Commitment on Selected Work Involvement Variables Controlling for Occupation

Work rated as giving "much more satisfaction" than other areas or life.

	Level of Religious Commitment			
	Lowest %	Low %	Moderate %	High & Highest* %
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional	28	34	34	46
White-collar	29	24	40	22
Blue-collar	13	21	32	33

Receiving recognition for your efforts (Percent saying "frequently")

	Level of Religious Commitment			
	Lowest %	Low %	Moderate %	High & Highest* %
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional	38	44	37	64
White-collar	38	39	50	80
Blue-collar	37	30	32	48

Finding your work interesting (Percent saying "frequently").

	Level of Religious Commitment			
	Lowest %	Low %	Moderate %	High & Highest* %
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional	73	77	73	90
White-collar	69	63	71	90
Blue-collar	60	66	66	80

*Due to an insufficient number of respondents in these two groups who are working, the categories were combined for this analysis only.

Methodology

Ranking of leadership characteristics

To guarantee the widest possible ranges of response, open-ended questions were employed in the general public questionnaire to elicit qualities of admired and non-admired leaders. This procedure enabled the selection of the most salient leadership characteristics without introducing possible experimenter bias. Based on preliminary returns from the general public survey, the free-response leadership characteristics were content-analyzed to produce a smaller set of characteristics. This reduced set was used in closed-ended questions on the leadership questionnaire.

Because the general public data on leadership characteristics, came from open-ended questioning and the leadership data came from or closed-ended questioning, the analysis comparing responses of the two sample groups the data have been rank ordered. This transformation preserves the pattern of responses while eliminating differences that may be due simply to mode of questioning.

General Public Questionnaire

IN SEARCH OF VALUES FOR THE '80'S

(Telephone Interviews, General Public)

Introduction

CM or TM

Hello, My name is _____ (INTERVIEWER WRITE IN YOUR NAME.)

(IF A CHILD ANSWERS THE PHONE, THEN ASK:) Is there someone in the house who is 14 or older?

(IF YOU ARE REFERRED TO A NEW PERSON, BEGIN THE INTRODUCTION AGAIN.)

I'm calling from Research & Forecasts, a New York research firm. We are conducting a nationwide survey on what Americans value most in their lives and what kind of leaders they admire. May I ask you some questions about this topic?

(USE IF ASKED) The results of this study will be released to the national press with the hope that they will help the leaders of today better understand what Americans value most for themselves and for the country. Your answers will be entirely confidential.

(IF ASKED, SAY THE ENTIRE INTERVIEW WILL TAKE ABOUT A HALF HOUR.)

Time started: _____

Time finished: _____

Total elapsed time: _____

Phone number called _____ / _____
area code number

Today's Date: _____ / _____
month day

FOR TM

Number of _____ Demo
First page
incomplete _____ yes, no

General Public Questionnaire

Part I: Lifestyles

We will be talking about a variety of activities, experiences and feelings. The first area we will be discussing is your leisure time.

Leisure Time Activities

1. I'd like to read a list of activities that you may do in your leisure time. Please tell me how frequently you do each (frequently, occasionally, or never) and whether you would like to do this more or less often in the future, or about the same.

Activities	HOW FREQUENTLY--NOW			FUTURE		
	Fre- quently	Occa- sionally	Never	More	About the Same	Less
Playing team sports	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Being in the country, on the beach, in the mountains, or in the desert	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Traveling	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Going to a museum	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Going to a movie or concert	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Reading a book	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Spending time with friends	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Visiting family and relatives	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Watching T.V.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Gardening	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Working around your house or apartment	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Cooking, sewing or knitting	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Jogging	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

2.
 - a. Are there other activities you do frequently, which I have not mentioned?
 - b. Are there other activities you would like to do frequently which I have not mentioned?
3. Taking everything into consideration how happy are you with the way you spend your leisure time?

Very happy	[]	Somewhat unhappy	[]
Somewhat happy	[]	Very unhappy	[]
		(Don't know)	[]

General Public Questionnaire

Working Environment

4. The next area we will discuss is your work. First, could you tell me whether you are employed.
- Yes ☐ No ☐
5. (IF YES, THEN ASK) Are you working:
- Full time ☐ or Part time ☐
6. (DON'T ASK IF WORKING FULL TIME) Are you not working full time because you are:
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Retired ☐ | Disabled ☐ |
| Unemployed ☐ | A homemaker ☐ |
| A student ☐ | Other ☐ |
7. Would you describe yourself as a homemaker?
- Yes ☐ No ☐
8. (IF NOT WORKING, THEN SKIP TO COMMUNITY.)
I'm going to read a list of job-related activities and feelings. Please tell me whether each one is something that happens frequently, occasionally, or not at all in your job, and whether it is something that you would like to happen more or less often, or about the same in the future. First, how about (READ FIRST ITEM)? Is this something that happens frequently, occasionally, or never in your job? (AFTER RESPONSE, ASK:) Is it something you would like to happen more, less, or about the same in the future?

<u>Activities and Experiences</u>	<u>FREQUENCY -- NOW</u>			<u>FUTURE</u>		
	<u>Fre-</u> <u>quently</u>	<u>Occa-</u> <u>sionally</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>More</u>	<u>About the</u> <u>same</u>	<u>Less</u>
Receiving recognition for your efforts	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Seeing a project through from start to finish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being guided by the person you report to	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Assuming responsibility	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Working with others toward a common goal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Doing a job well	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having a say in decisions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having to work overtime	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having an opportunity for advance- ment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
<u>Feelings</u>						
Feeling a sense of dedication to your work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Feeling that your work contributes to society	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Finding your work interesting	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Feeling pressured about your job	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Feeling secure in your job	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Feeling bored	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

General Public Questionnaire

9. Taking everything into consideration how happy are you with your work? Would you say you are
- | | | | |
|----------------|-----|------------------|-----|
| Very happy | [] | Somewhat unhappy | [] |
| Somewhat happy | [] | Very unhappy | [] |
| | | (Don't know) | [] |
10. Do you feel that your present job offers you enough money to meet your needs?
- Yes [] No []
11. Do you feel you would like to keep doing what you're doing now or would prefer to be doing something else?
- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Keep doing what I'm doing now | [] |
| Change what I'm doing | [] |
12. Do you expect to be working for your entire adult life?
- Yes [] No [] (Don't Know) []
- Community
13. Now, I'd like to read a list of activities and feelings related to involvement in your local community. Again, please tell me how frequently you do or feel each and whether you would like to do this more or less often in the future, or about the same?

	HOW FREQUENTLY--NOW			FUTURE		
	Fre- quently	Occa- sionally	Never	More	About the Same	Less
<u>Activities</u>						
Attending community or neighborhood meetings	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Discussing local issues with friends and neighbors	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Doing volunteer work at or for a local organization	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Visiting with your neighbors	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Voting in local elections	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
<u>Feelings</u>						
Feeling you can rely on your neighbors	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Feeling you belong to a community	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Feeling safe in your community	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

14. Taking everything into consideration how happy are you with your community? Would you say you are:
- | | | | |
|----------------|-----|------------------|-----|
| Very happy | [] | Somewhat unhappy | [] |
| Somewhat happy | [] | Very unhappy | [] |
| | | (Don't know) | [] |
15. Would you like to participate more in making your community a better place to live?
- Yes [] No [] (Don't know) []
16. Do you feel you can have a significant influence on the way your community is run?
- Yes [] No [] (Don't know) []
17. Have you ever run for political office?
- Yes [] No []
18. Have you ever been an officer in a local organization?
- Yes [] No []
19. How long have you lived in your community? _____ years

General Public Questionnaire

20. Do you have relatives who also live in your community?
- Yes ☐ No ☐
21. If you had the opportunity, would you like to move somewhere else, or would you stay where you are?
- Move ☐ Stay ☐ (Don't know) ☐
22. Does where you live give you a sense of your position in the world -- a sense of who you are?
- Yes ☐ No ☐
23. Which of the following reasons are important to you in choosing where you live? (CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY)
- | | |
|---|--|
| Convenience ☐ | Having family or friends ☐ |
| School system ☐ | nearby ☐ |
| Safety ☐ | Cost ☐ |
| Status ☐ | Being around other people ☐ |
| Physical environment ☐ | like yourself ☐ |
| (e.g., size of house ☐ | The churches or temples ☐ |
| or lot, close transportation, physical beauty) ☐ | Other _____ ☐ |

Relationships

24. I'd like to run through a list of activities and feelings that have to do with friendships and relationships. Please tell how important each is to you (very important, somewhat important, or not at all important), and whether you would like to do each one more often, less often, or about the same in the future.

	<u>How Important</u>			<u>Future</u>		
	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Not At All</u>	<u>More</u>	<u>About the same</u>	<u>Less</u>
<u>Activities</u>						
Sharing personal feelings with a spouse or intimate companion	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being with friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being with people you love	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having a rewarding sexual relationship	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Making new friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Going out of your way to help a friend	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Talking to older members of your family	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Playing with children	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Doing things as a family group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

25. Taking everything into consideration how happy are you with your relationships with your friends? Would you say you are:
- | | |
|---|---|
| Very happy ☐ | Somewhat unhappy ☐ |
| Somewhat happy ☐ | Very unhappy ☐ |
| | (Don't know) ☐ |
26. How happy are you with your relationship with your spouse or intimate companion?
- | | |
|---|---|
| Very happy ☐ | Somewhat unhappy ☐ |
| Somewhat happy ☐ | Very unhappy ☐ |
| | (Don't know) ☐ |

General Public Questionnaire

27. How happy are you with your relationships with your immediate family, other than your spouse?

Very happy [] Somewhat unhappy []
Somewhat happy [] Very unhappy []
(Don't know) []

28. Is there someone in whom you feel you can confide? With whom you can discuss almost any problem?

Yes [] No []

29. (IF YES) Who is this person? (FRIEND, SPOUSE, BROTHER, ETC.) _____

Religion

Now, for the last part of this section, I'd like to ask you a few questions about religion.

30. Do you consider yourself a religious person?

Yes [] No []

31. As a child did you attend religious services or receive religious instruction?

Yes [] No []

32. What is your religion?

Protestant [] None []
Catholic [] Don't know/no answer []
Jewish [] Other _____
(specify)

33. (IF RESPONDENT IS PROTESTANT, CATHOLIC OR OTHER CHRISTIAN)

Was there ever a specific time in your adult life when you made a personal commitment to Christ that changed your life?

Yes [] No [] Don't know/no answer []

34. I'd like to read a list of religious activities and experiences. Again, please tell me how frequently you do each and how rewarding you find each; very, somewhat, or not at all rewarding. (IF FREQUENCY = NEVER, DON'T ASK REWARDING.)

	HOW FREQUENTLY--Now			HOW REWARDING		
	Fre- quently	Occa- sionally	Never	Very Rewarding	Somewhat Rewarding	Not at all Rewarding
<u>Activities</u>						
Attending religious services	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Engaging in prayer	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Encouraging others to turn to religion	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Participating in a church social activity	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Listening to religious broadcasts	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Reading the Bible	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
<u>Feelings</u>						
Feeling that God loves you	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Having something you call a religious experience	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

35. Taking everything into consideration how happy are you with your religious life? Would you say you are:

Very happy [] Somewhat unhappy []
Somewhat happy [] Very unhappy []
(Don't know) []

General Public Questionnaire

Ranking of Activities

36. I'd like you to think back on the seven different aspects of your life that we have talked about: your work, your leisure time, your relationships with friends, your spouse or intimate companion and your immediate family, your involvement in your local community and religion. I'd like you to tell me whether each one gives you more satisfaction, somewhat more satisfaction, somewhat less or much less satisfaction than other areas.
How about: (BEGIN WITH CHECKED ITEM.)

	<u>Much More</u>	<u>Somewhat More</u>	<u>Somewhat Less</u>	<u>Much Less</u>
Your work (IF EMPLOYED)	[]	[]	[]	[]
Your leisure time	[]	[]	[]	[]
Relationships with friends	[]	[]	[]	[]
Relationship with your spouse or intimate companion	[]	[]	[]	[]
Relationships with your immediate family	[]	[]	[]	[]
Involvement in your neighborhood or local community	[]	[]	[]	[]
Religion	[]	[]	[]	[]

37. Taking everything into consideration, how happy are you with your life as a whole? Would you say you are:
- | | | | |
|----------------|-----|------------------|-----|
| Very happy | [] | Somewhat unhappy | [] |
| Somewhat happy | [] | Very unhappy | [] |
| | | (Don't know) | [] |

38. Now, if you knew you only had six months to live, which of these aspects of your life would become more important, which would remain the same, which would become less important, and which would be eliminated? Let's start again with:
(BEGIN WITH CHECKED ITEM.)

	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Remain the Same</u>	<u>Become Less</u>	<u>Eliminate</u>
Your work (IF EMPLOYED)	[]	[]	[]	[]
Your leisure time	[]	[]	[]	[]
Relationships with friends	[]	[]	[]	[]
Relationship with your spouse or intimate companion	[]	[]	[]	[]
Relationships with your immediate family	[]	[]	[]	[]
Involvement in your neighborhood or local community	[]	[]	[]	[]
Religion	[]	[]	[]	[]

39. What other things would you do if you had only six months to live?

General Public Questionnaire

40. Do you find it difficult to make important choices about how much time and effort you devote to each of the areas we've discussed? Let's take them one at a time: (BEGIN WITH CHECKED ITEM.)

	<u>No Difficulty</u>	<u>Difficult</u>	<u>Very Difficult</u>
Your work (IF EMPLOYED)	[]	[]	[]
Your leisure time	[]	[]	[]
Relationships with friends	[]	[]	[]
Relationship with spouse or intimate companion	[]	[]	[]
Relationships with your immediate family	[]	[]	[]
Involvement in your neighborhood or local community	[]	[]	[]
Religion	[]	[]	[]

General Public Questionnaire

Part II: Aspirations and Fears

Personal

Next, I'd like to ask you a few questions about how you feel about life in general.

1. All of us want certain things out of life. Imagine your future in the best possible way. What would your life look like then, if you are to be happy? Please try to think of three words or phrases to describe that life.

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____
2. Now, taking the other side of the picture, what are your fears and worries about the future? In other words, if you imagine your future in the worst possible light. What would your life look like then? Again, please try to think of three words or phrases to describe that life.

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____
3. Now, I would like you to imagine a ladder. At the top of the ladder is the best possible world for you (READ LIST FROM Q. 1) and this has a value of 10. At the bottom of the ladder is the worst possible world for you (READ LIST FROM Q. 2), and this has a value of 1. Some people seem to be quite happy and satisfied with their lives, while others seem quite unhappy and dissatisfied. Where would you put yourself on the ladder in terms of how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with your own personal life -- at the present time?

Worst		Best
1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10
4. At what point on the ladder would you say you stood five years ago?

Worst		Best
1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10
5. At what point on the ladder do you think you will be five years from now?

Worst		Best
1	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10
6. I would like you to think of three answers to the question "Who am I?" Just give three different answers as they occur to you. Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else.

General Public Questionnaire

Economic Status

Next I would like to ask you a couple of questions about your financial situation.

7. Using a 10 step ladder like the one we just used, with 10 being the best standard of living and 1 being the worst standard of living, where would you place yourself on the ladder today?

Worst		Best
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

8. How about 10 years ago?

Worst		Best
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

9. And where do you think you will be 10 years from now?

Worst		Best
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

10. Do you believe that America offers an opportunity for financial security to all those willing to work hard?

Yes [] No [] (Don't know) []

11. In order to help restore the economy, are you willing to substantially reduce your standard of living, for example, by paying higher prices for things, accepting wage and price controls or paying higher taxes?

Yes [] No [] (Don't know) []

12. Are your parents still living?

Both [] Only one [] No []

(IF EITHER PARENT IS LIVING, THEN ASK.)

- 13a. Are you financially supporting your parents in any way?

Yes [] No []

- b. Are your parents financially supporting you in any way?

Yes [] No []

- c. Do you feel you are better or worse off financially than your parents?

Better [] The same [] Worse [] (Don't know) []

14. Compared to your parents, how well off financially do you feel you will eventually become?

Better [] About the same [] Not as well off []
[Don't know] []

Family

We're approaching the end of this section. I'd like to ask you some questions about your family.

15. Are you:

Single []
Married []
Divorced []
Widowed []
Separated []

16. (IF MARRIED, DIVORCED, WIDOWED, OR SEPARATED, THEN ASK): How old were you when you got married?

17. If you were given the choice, would you like to be married, or would you prefer to be single, at the present time?

Married [] Single [] (Don't know) []

General Public Questionnaire

18. Are you now (READ LIST, ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES):

- Living alone []
 Living with your parents []
 Living with your children []
 Living with your spouse []
 Living with a member of the opposite sex []
 (Other _____) []

(IF NOT KNOWN BY NOW):

19. Do you have any children? Yes [] No []

20. (IF RESPONDENT HAS CHILDREN, THEN ASK): How many children do you have who are (READ LIST): Are they living at home?

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Number at home</u>
Under 2 years old	_____	_____
Between 2 and 6 years old	_____	_____
Between 6 and 18 years old	_____	_____
Over 18 years old	_____	_____

21. How many children would you really like to have? _____

22. Please tell me how you would respond to each of the following possibilities, concerning your children? If you don't have children just imagine that you do and answer the questions accordingly. (BEGIN WITH CHECKED ITEM.)

	<u>Very</u> <u>Happy</u>	<u>Happy</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Unhappy</u>	<u>Very</u> <u>Unhappy</u>
If your child never married	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your child were financially successful	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your child moved away so that you were rarely able to see him or her	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your child gave you a grandchild	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your child became involved in a homosexual or lesbian relationship	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your daughter pursued a career	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your child were divorced	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your child married a member of another race	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your child found happiness in a way of life very different from your own	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your son decided <u>not</u> to pursue a career	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your child had sexual relations with someone other than his or her spouse	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your child had a sexual relationship before marriage	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your child smoked marijuana	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your child had an abortion	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
If your child used hard drugs	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

General Public Questionnaire

23. (IF RESPONDENT HAS CHILDREN:)

If you have children who don't live at home, how frequently do you see or speak to them? (IF MORE THAN ONE CHILD, ANSWER FOR THE CHILD CONTACTED MOST FREQUENTLY)

More than once a week	[]
About once a week	[]
A few times a month	[]
Once a month	[]
Less than once a month	[]
Never	[]

24. (IF PARENTS ARE LIVING:)

How frequently do you see or speak to your parents?

More than once a week	[]
About once a week	[]
A few times a month	[]
Once a month	[]
Less than once a month	[]
Never	[]

General Public Questionnaire

Part III: Values

Interpersonal Values

1. Should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now?

Easier ☐ Remain the same ☐ More difficult ☐

2. Do you favor or oppose efforts to strengthen women's rights in this country (for example, equal pay for equal work, equality of opportunity)?

Favor ☐ Oppose ☐ No opinion ☐

3. Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money if she has a husband who is capable of supporting her?

Approve ☐ Disapprove ☐ (No opinion) ☐

4. If you were unhappily married, would you:

Try to reconcile the problems at all cost ☐
Try to work it out, but be prepared to
seek a divorce if you did not succeed ☐

5. Do you feel that a couple who are unhappily married should stay together if they have young children?

Yes ☐ No ☐ (No Opinion) ☐

6. Ideally, which of the following four lifestyles would you prefer?

- ☐ A traditional marriage in which the husband is responsible for providing for the family and the wife for the home and taking care of the children.
☐ An equal marriage of shared responsibility in which the husband and wife cooperate on work, homemaking and child raising.
☐ Living with someone but not marrying.
☐ Remaining single.

7. What changes in your career would you be willing to make, or have you made in order to have and raise children? (ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSE.)

- ☐ Work more at home.
☐ Reduce the number of hours you work.
☐ Quit your job in order to become a full-time parent.
☐ Work limited hours so that you have more time for your children.
☐ Suppress or delay your career ambitions.
☐ Take an unchallenging job that allows you time and flexibility for your children.
☐ Take a second job or work overtime so that you can support your family.
☐ Hire outside help.

(IF NOT EMPLOYED, THEN DO NOT ASK.)

8. Suppose you were offered a job that is much better than your present one, but located in another community at least 100 miles away. How willing would you be to move to the other community to take the better job? Would you say that you would be (READ LIST):

Very willing to relocate ☐
Somewhat willing to relocate ☐
Not willing to relocate ☐
(DO NOT READ) Depends on circumstances ☐

9. Which of the following do you believe are morally wrong, and which do you think are not moral issues? (BEGIN WITH CHECKED ITEM.)

	Morally Wrong	Not a Moral Issue
Sex between two single people	☐	☐
Homosexuality	☐	☐
Pornographic movies	☐	☐
Use of hard drugs	☐	☐
For a married person to have sexual relations with someone other than their spouse	☐	☐
Abortion	☐	☐
Lesbianism	☐	☐
Smoking marijuana	☐	☐
Having sex before age 16	☐	☐
Living with someone of the opposite sex	☐	☐

General Public Questionnaire

Part IV: Leadership

Now I'd like to ask about the kinds of leaders you admire.

1. I'd like you to think of the leader you admire most in America's past or present. Could you tell me which leader, including people who are still active, you admire most? (NAME) _____
2. What do you admire most about (READ NAME) _____?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
3. Now, I'd like you to think of the leader you admire least in America's past or present. Could you tell me which leader you admire the least? (NAME) _____
4. What three things do you admire least about (READ NAME) _____?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
5. Using a ladder similar to the one we did before, with 10 representing the best American leader and 1 the worst leader, how would you rate American leaders today?

Worst										Best
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6. (IF WORKING) I'd like you to think of someone you admire most in your job -- someone you know from work or someone you know by reputation.
 - a. What position does this person have in your job?

 - b. And what do you admire most about this person?

7. I'd like you to think about someone you admire in your family who you feel has made the greatest contribution to your family (including brother, sister, parent, grandparent, aunt and uncle, cousin, etc).
 - a. What relationship does this person have to you?

 - b. What do you admire most about this person?

General Public Questionnaire

8. I'd like you to think about the person you admire in your local community who you feel has made the greatest contribution to the community.

a. What position does this person have in your community?

b. What do you admire most about this person?

9. I'd like you to think about the kind of person you would want to lead the nation today. What are the three most important characteristics you would look for?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

10. What are the three characteristics you would definitely not want this person to have?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

11. I'm going to read a list of different groups of people working in our society today. Please tell me which two you admire most and which two you admire least. (READ LIST, write numbers below.)

1. Lawyer
2. Politician
3. Clergyman
4. Senior Military Officer
5. Reporter or news commentator
6. Scientist
7. Athlete
8. Teacher
9. Business executive
10. Government officer
11. Leader of a community organization
12. Labor leader
13. Judge
14. Writer
15. Doctor
16. Celebrity
17. Artist
18. Other _____

12. Why did you select (READ 1st TWO CHOICES) as most admired?

1. # _____ (Why) _____

2. # _____ (Why) _____

13. Why did you select (READ 2 LEAST ADMIRER) as least admired:

3. # _____ (Why) _____

4. # _____ (Why) _____

General Public Questionnaire

Part V: Current Issues

Well, the longest section of the questionnaire is over. There are just two shorter sections left.

I'm going to read to you a list of statements relating to current issues. For each one I'd like you to tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly.

	<u>Agree strongly</u>	<u>Agree somewhat</u>	<u>Neither Agree nor disagree</u>	<u>Disagree somewhat</u>	<u>Disagree strongly</u>
1. The government ought to make sure everyone has a good standard of living	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
2. The president should be elected for a single non-renewable, term of six years	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
3. It is important for America to have the strongest military force in the world, no matter what it costs	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
4. The most important national problems, such as energy, inflation and crime can be solved through traditional American politics	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
5. There should be a peace time draft for men	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
6. The president can try very hard to do his best, but most of the time his hands are tied	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
7. There should be a draft of women for combat duty	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
8. The most important decisions on public issues are best left in the hands of our leaders	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
9. There is too much concern in the courts for the rights of criminals	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
10. The government runs best when it listens to public opinion on major public issues	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
11. The government has too much power over the lives of average citizens	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
12. The way people vote is the main thing that decides the way things are run in this country	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
13. Education is the key to a successful and happy life	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
14. It is better to work at a lower paying job that one enjoys than a higher paying job that is not satisfying	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
15. A woman with young children should not work outside the home unless it is financially necessary	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

General Public Questionnaire

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Neither agree nor Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly
16. The press is doing a good job of fulfilling its responsibility to the public	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
17. Our involvement in the war in Vietnam was unjustified	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
18. The press sensationalizes issues rather than simply reporting them	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
19. The press should play the role of watchdog for the public	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
20. The resignation of President Nixon was good because it showed that we could rid our country of corruption in high office	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
21. The <u>New York Times</u> should not have published the Pentagon Papers	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
22. The Watergate crisis led to too much disrespect for the President	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
23. Social Security taxes should be increased if necessary to provide adequate incomes for older people	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
24. The government should protect American industry from foreign competition by limiting imports from countries such as Japan	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
25. The United States has been too willing to accept refugees from Cuba and South Vietnam	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
26. The benefits of nuclear power are greater than the risks involved	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
27. I'm going to read a list of public issues. I'd like you to tell me how high a priority each should be in the 1980's. Use a 10 point ladder with 10 representing the highest priority and 1 representing the lowest priority.					

National

	Low	High
Reducing inflation	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Strengthening traditional family values	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Reducing government spending	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Taking care of the elderly	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Reducing unemployment	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Solving the energy crisis	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Making America's armed forces the strongest in the world	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Guaranteeing adequate health care to all those in need	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Guaranteeing equal opportunities for all minorities	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

General Public Questionnaire

Reducing pollution	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Rebuilding the cities	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Ending poverty	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Cutting taxes	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Now I would like to read a list of local issues. Please tell me how high a priority each should receive in the 1980's.

Local

	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Improving education	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Reducing crime	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Controlling growth	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Rebuilding downtown areas	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Setting aside areas for public use, such as parks	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Cutting taxes by reducing local services	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Providing libraries and other cultural activities	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

General Public Questionnaire

Part VI: Demographics

Next, I'd like to ask some background questions to help us understand the responses you have given.

1. Generally speaking, do you usually consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?
Republican.....[] Independent/Other.....[]
Democrat.....[] (Don't Know/No Answer).....[]
2. How would you describe your views on most political matters? Generally, do you think of yourself as liberal, moderate or conservative?
Liberal.....[] Conservative.....[]
Moderate.....[] (Don't Know/No Answer).....[]
3. What is the last grade of school you attended?
8th grade or less []
Some high school []
High school graduate []
Some college []
College graduate (4 years) []
Post graduate []
4. What is your age?
16 - 20 years..... []
21 - 24 years..... []
25 - 34 years..... []
35 - 49 years..... []
50 - 64 years..... []
65 years and over..... []
5. Are you or any member of your household a member of a labor union?
Yes.....[] (Don't Know/No Answer).....[]
No.....[]
6. Are you white, black or of Spanish origin?
White.....[]
Black.....[]
Spanish origin.....[]
Other.....[]

RECORD - DO NOT ASK
Sex
Male.....[]
Female.....[]
7. What is the occupation of the head of household? (RECORD BELOW)
Professional/Self-employed/Executive.....[]
White collar.....[]
Blue collar.....[]
Retired.....[]
Unemployed.....[]
Student.....[]
Housewife.....[]
Farmer.....[]
8. Do you live in a:
Large city.....[]
Small City.....[]
Suburb.....[]
Rural area.....[]

General Public Questionnaire

9. What is your total household income category before taxes for the past year, 1979?

Under 3,000.....[]	15,000 to 20,000.....[]
3,000 to 7,000.....[]	20,000 to 25,000.....[]
7,000 to 12,000.....[]	25,000 to 30,000.....[]
12,000 to 15,000.....[]	over 30,000.....[]

10. In the last week, how many days did you read your daily newspaper?

One.....[]	Five.....[]
Two.....[]	Six.....[]
Three.....[]	Seven.....[]
Four.....[]	None.....[]

11. In the last week, how many days did you watch a television newscast?

One.....[]	Five.....[]
Two.....[]	Six.....[]
Three.....[]	Seven.....[]
Four.....[]	None.....[]

12. In an average week, how many hours per day do you watch television?

One hour.....[]	Four hours.....[]
Two hours.....[]	Five hours.....[]
Three hours.....[]	More than five hours.....[]
	None.....[]

Thank you very much for your cooperation. We have come to the end of the interview.

As part of our usual practice in conducting surveys, we sometimes verify that interviews were conducted. That means that a supervisor calls some people back just to see that the interview was actually conducted. Only a small percentage of people are actually called back. In order to do that, if it is necessary, I'd like to have your first name. Your answers will still be held in strictest confidence.

Are there any comments you care to make on the interview?

In Search of Values for the '80's

Sponsored by Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company

LEADERSHIP SURVEY

Business	Education	Government	News Media	Science
Criminal Justice	Entertainment/Sports	Military	Religion	Voluntary Associations

PART I: Leadership

1. What do you feel are the most important rewards of your leadership position? (Check all that apply.)

Inner satisfaction	☐	Challenge	☐
Prestige	☐	Doing something of value for society	☐
Financial rewards	☐	Sense of having accomplished something	☐
Ability to affect the course of society	☐	Other _____	☐

2. What are the greatest disadvantages of your leadership position? (Check all that apply.)

Excessive pressure	☐	Excessive time demands	☐
Lack of privacy	☐	Insufficient financial compensation	☐
Having too much responsibility	☐	Lack of appreciation	☐
		Other _____	☐

3. How do you best make decisions? (Check all that apply.)

By seeking spiritual guidance	☐	In equal collaboration with a group, rather than acting alone	☐
By searching within yourself	☐	Doing your own research or analysis	☐
Listening to the viewpoints of family and friends	☐	In consultation with a key adviser	☐
Seeking advice of experts or colleagues	☐	Other _____	☐

4. How frequently do you:

Frequently **Occasionally** **Never**

Feel a sense of dedication to your work	☐	☐	☐
Feel pressured about your job	☐	☐	☐
Express more confidence in your decisions than you actually have	☐	☐	☐
Feel that you have to make an unpopular and lonely decision	☐	☐	☐
Find your work interesting	☐	☐	☐
Feel it is more important to make a decision than to be right or wrong	☐	☐	☐
Feel secure in your job	☐	☐	☐
Feel bored	☐	☐	☐

5. Do you feel you would like to keep on doing what you're doing now or would prefer to be doing something else?

Keep doing what I'm doing ☐ Change what I'm doing ☐

6. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Agree **Disagree**

The public can be relied on to select the sort of leaders the nation needs	☐	☐
Selection of national leadership belongs in the hands of elite groups	☐	☐

7. Which group do you think is the most responsible for training leaders? (Check one.)

Government service	☐	Military service	☐
Primary, secondary schools	☐	Community organizations (e.g., PTA, Boy Scouts, Junior Chamber of Commerce)	☐
Colleges	☐	Don't know	☐
Business	☐	Other _____	☐
Religious organizations	☐		

Leadership Questionnaire

8a. Do you think there is an untapped reservoir of leadership in this country?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐

b. If so, which of the following groups do you think may provide the greatest untapped leadership potential: (Check one.)

Educators	☐	Scientists	☐
Top management of large corporations	☐	Military	☐
Top management of small companies	☐	Professionals such as doctors and lawyers	☐
Government service	☐	Minorities	☐
Women	☐	The media	☐
Religious groups	☐	Community organizations	☐
		Other _____	☐

9. What is the most important role of a leader — regardless of his or her field of activity? (Check one.)

To accommodate and synthesize the desires of various groups	☐	To educate his or her constituents on the values he or she believes are important	☐
To express his or her own personal convictions	☐	To build support for what he or she believes to be for the good of society	☐
To faithfully represent the views of his or her constituents	☐	Other _____	☐

10. Recently, there has been much discussion about the quality of American leadership. How important do you feel each of the factors below is as an obstacle to the emergence of better leaders?

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important
Our educational system does not provide people with leadership skills	☐	☐	☐
The times make effective leadership impossible	☐	☐	☐
Potential leaders are deterred by fears of lack of privacy	☐	☐	☐
The system does not favor the most capable individuals	☐	☐	☐
Leaders are not given enough financial compensation	☐	☐	☐
The pressures of leadership positions are just too great	☐	☐	☐
American voters look for the wrong qualities in leaders	☐	☐	☐
Leaders are not fully appreciated	☐	☐	☐
Leadership roles demand too much time	☐	☐	☐
The responsibilities of leadership roles appear to be too great	☐	☐	☐
Other _____	☐	☐	☐

11. What leader do you most admire in America's past or present?

12. From the list of leadership characteristics below, please select the *three* characteristics:

	a) You look for in a leader	b) The American public looks for in a leader	c) That distinguish you from others in your field who are not leaders	d) Which represent your greatest weakness as a leader
Leadership ability	☐	☐	☐	☐
Strength	☐	☐	☐	☐
Honesty, straight-talking	☐	☐	☐	☐
Religious conviction	☐	☐	☐	☐
Caring for people, sincerity	☐	☐	☐	☐
Intelligence	☐	☐	☐	☐
Courage	☐	☐	☐	☐
Competence, success	☐	☐	☐	☐
Stand for beliefs, integrity	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other _____	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐

Leadership Questionnaire

13a. What leader do you *least* admire in America's past or present? _____

b. From the list below, please select the *three* characteristics you admire *least* about the person you have chosen above.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| Hypocritical ☐ | Ignorant ☐ | Lack of religious conviction ☐ |
| Dishonest ☐ | Weak, indecisive ☐ | Lack of compassion ☐ |
| Ineffective leader, incompetent ☐ | Selfish, greedy ☐ | Other _____ ☐ |

14. Using the scale below, how would you rate American leaders today? (Circle number.)

Worst										Best
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

Using a ten point scale, please indicate below how high a priority you feel each of the national and local issues should be in the 1980's. (Circle number.)

NATIONAL ISSUES

	Low	High		Low	High
Strengthening traditional family values	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		Guaranteeing adequate health care to all those in need	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Making America's armed forces the strongest in the world	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		Guaranteeing equal opportunities for all minorities	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Reducing inflation	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		Reducing pollution	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Reducing government spending	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		Rebuilding the cities	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Taking care of the elderly	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		Ending poverty	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Reducing unemployment	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		Cutting taxes	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Solving the energy crisis	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10				

LOCAL ISSUES

	Low	High		Low	High
Setting aside areas for public use, such as parks	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		Cutting taxes by reducing local services	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Reducing crime	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		Providing libraries and other cultural activities	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Controlling growth	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10		Rebuilding downtown areas	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
Improving education	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10				

PART III. VALUES

- | <p>1. Which of the following do you believe are morally wrong, and which do you think are not moral issues?</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <th style="width: 60%;"></th> <th style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">Morally Wrong</th> <th style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">Not a Moral Issue</th> </tr> <tr> <td>Sex between two single people</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Homosexuality</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Pornographic movies</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Use of hard drugs</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> </tr> <tr> <td>For a married person to have sexual relations with someone other than their spouse</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Abortion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Lesbianism</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Smoking marijuana</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Having sex before age 16</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Living with someone of the opposite sex</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> <td style="text-align: center;">☐</td> </tr> </table> | | Morally Wrong | Not a Moral Issue | Sex between two single people | ☐ | ☐ | Homosexuality | ☐ | ☐ | Pornographic movies | ☐ | ☐ | Use of hard drugs | ☐ | ☐ | For a married person to have sexual relations with someone other than their spouse | ☐ | ☐ | Abortion | ☐ | ☐ | Lesbianism | ☐ | ☐ | Smoking marijuana | ☐ | ☐ | Having sex before age 16 | ☐ | ☐ | Living with someone of the opposite sex | ☐ | ☐ | <p>2. Should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now?</p> <p>Easier ☐ Remain the same ☐ More difficult ☐</p> <p>3. Do you favor or oppose efforts to strengthen women's rights in this country (for example, equal pay for equal work, equality of opportunity)?</p> <p>Favor ☐ Oppose ☐ No opinion ☐</p> <p>4. Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money if she has a husband who is capable of supporting her?</p> <p>Approve ☐ Disapprove ☐ No opinion ☐</p> <p>5. Do you feel that a couple who are unhappily married should stay together if they have young children?</p> <p>Yes ☐ No ☐ No opinion ☐</p> |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| | Morally Wrong | Not a Moral Issue | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sex between two single people | ☐ | ☐ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Homosexuality | ☐ | ☐ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pornographic movies | ☐ | ☐ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Use of hard drugs | ☐ | ☐ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| For a married person to have sexual relations with someone other than their spouse | ☐ | ☐ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Abortion | ☐ | ☐ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lesbianism | ☐ | ☐ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Smoking marijuana | ☐ | ☐ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Having sex before age 16 | ☐ | ☐ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Living with someone of the opposite sex | ☐ | ☐ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Leadership Questionnaire

6. What changes in your career would you be willing to make, or have you made in order to have and raise children?
(Check all that apply.)
- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| Work more at home | ☐ | Take an unchallenging job that allows you time and flexibility for your children | ☐ |
| Reduce the number of hours you work | ☐ | Take a second job or work overtime so that you can support your family | ☐ |
| Quit your job in order to become a full-time parent | ☐ | Hire outside help | ☐ |
| Work limited hours so that you have more time for your children | ☐ | Suppress or delay your career ambitions | ☐ |
7. How many children would you really like to have? (Circle number.) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 or more
8. If you are married, which of the following factors causes the most stress in your marriage? (Check one.)
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|----------|--------------------------|
| Money | ☐ | Work | ☐ | Children | ☐ |
| Personal conflict | ☐ | Leisure time | ☐ | Sex | ☐ |
| In-Laws | ☐ | Health | ☐ | Jealousy | ☐ |
9. Ideally, which of the following four lifestyles would you prefer? (Check one.)
- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| A traditional marriage in which the husband is responsible for providing for the family, and the wife, for the home and taking care of the children | ☐ |
| An equal marriage of shared responsibility in which the husband and wife cooperate on work, homemaking, and child raising | ☐ |
| Living with someone but not marrying | ☐ |
| Remaining single | ☐ |

Leadership Questionnaire

PART IV. ISSUES

In the five topic areas below, please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

- | | Agree
Strongly | Agree
Somewhat | Neither
Agree nor
Disagree | Disagree
Somewhat | Disagree
Strongly |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|

1. Government

- The government ought to make sure everyone has a good standard of living
- The most important decisions on public issues are best left in the hands of our leaders
- The most important national problems, such as energy, inflation and crime can be solved through traditional American politics
- The government runs best when it listens to public opinion on major public issues
- The government has too much power over the lives of average citizens
- The way people vote is the main thing that decides the way things are run in this country
- Social Security taxes should be increased if necessary to provide adequate incomes for older people
- The government should protect American industry from foreign competition by limiting imports from countries such as Japan
- The United States has been too willing to accept refugees from Cuba and South Vietnam

2. The Presidency

- | | Agree
Strongly | Agree
Somewhat | Neither
Agree nor
Disagree | Disagree
Somewhat | Disagree
Strongly |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|

- The president should be elected for a single, non-renewable term of six years
- The president can try very hard to do his best, but most of the time his hands are tied
- The resignation of President Nixon was good because it showed that we could rid our country of corruption in the high office
- The Watergate crisis led to too much disrespect for the President
- The present primary system does not contribute to the selection of the best possible presidential candidates
- The responsibilities of the presidency have grown so vast that they can no longer be effectively managed by one person

3. Media

- | | Agree
Strongly | Agree
Somewhat | Neither
Agree nor
Disagree | Disagree
Somewhat | Disagree
Strongly |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|

- The press is doing a good job of fulfilling its responsibility to the public
- The media promote the rise of charismatic rather than substantive leaders in public office
- The New York Times should not have published the Pentagon Papers
- The press sensationalizes issues rather than simply reporting them
- The press should play the role of watchdog for the public

Leadership Questionnaire

4. **The Military**
- | | Agree
Strongly | Agree
Somewhat | Neither
Agree nor
Disagree | Disagree
Somewhat | Disagree
Strongly |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| It is important for America to have the strongest military force in the world, no matter what it costs | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Our involvement in the war in Vietnam was unjustified | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| There should be a draft of women for combat duty | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| There should be a peace time draft for men | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
5. **Other**
- | | Agree
Strongly | Agree
Somewhat | Neither
Agree nor
Disagree | Disagree
Somewhat | Disagree
Strongly |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| The benefits of nuclear power are greater than the risks involved | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Education is the key to a successful and happy life | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| It is better to work at a lower paying job that one enjoys than a higher paying job that is not satisfying | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| There is too much concern in the courts for the rights of criminals | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| A woman with young children should not work outside the home unless it is financially necessary | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
6. Do you believe that America offers an opportunity for financial security to all those willing to work?
 Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐
7. In order to help restore the economy, are you willing to substantially reduce your standard of living, for example, by paying higher prices for things, accepting wage and price controls or paying higher taxes?
 Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐

PART V. ACTIVITIES

A. Community

1. How frequently do you:
- | | Frequently | Occasionally | Never |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Attend community or neighborhood meetings | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Discuss local issues with friends and neighbors | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Do volunteer work at or for a local organization | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Visit with your neighbors | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Vote in local elections | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Feel you can rely on your neighbors | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Feel you belong to a community | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Feel safe in your community | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
2. How many years have you lived in your community? _____ years
3. The following questions have to do with community involvement:
- | | Yes | No |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Would you like to participate more in making your community a better place to live? | ☐ | ☐ |
| Do you feel you can have a significant influence on the way your community is run? | ☐ | ☐ |
| Have you ever run for political office? | ☐ | ☐ |
| Have you ever been an officer in a local organization? | ☐ | ☐ |
4. Suppose you were offered a job that is much better than your present one, but located in another community at least 100 miles away. How willing would you be to move to the other community to take the better job?
 Very willing to relocate ☐ Somewhat willing to relocate ☐ Not willing to relocate ☐

Leadership Questionnaire

B Religion

5. Do you consider yourself a religious person?

Yes ☐ No ☐

6. What is your religion?

Protestant ☐
Catholic ☐
Jewish ☐

Other _____
None

7. If you are a Christian, was there ever a specific time in your adult life when you made a personal commitment to Christ that changed your life?

Yes ☐ No ☐

8. How frequently do you:

Frequently Occasionally Never

Attend religious services
Engage in prayer
Encourage others to turn to religion
Read the Bible
Feel that God loves you
Have something you call a religious experience

☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐

C Relationships

9. How important to you is each of the following?

Very
Important Somewhat
Important Not at all
Important

Sharing personal feelings with a spouse or intimate companion
Being with friends
Being with people you love
Having a rewarding sexual relationship
Making new friends
Going out of your way to help a friend
Talking to older members of your family
Playing with children
Doing things as a family

☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐

D. Ranking Activities

10. Of the various aspects of life listed below, does each one give you more satisfaction, somewhat more satisfaction, somewhat less satisfaction or much less satisfaction than the other six areas?

Much
More Somewhat
More Somewhat
Less Much
Less

Your work (IF EMPLOYED)
Your leisure time
Relationships with friends
Relationship with your spouse or intimate companion
Relationships with your immediate family
Involvement in your neighborhood or local community
Religion

☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	☐

11. Taking everything into consideration, how happy are you with your life as a whole? Would you say you are:

Very happy ☐ Somewhat unhappy ☐
Somewhat happy ☐ Very unhappy ☐

Leadership Questionnaire

PART VI. DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Generally speaking, do you usually consider yourself
 Republican ☐ Democrat ☐ Independent/Other ☐
2. How would you describe your views on most political matters? Generally, do you think of yourself as
 Liberal ☐ Moderate ☐ Conservative ☐ Don't know ☐
3. What is the last grade of school you attended?
 8th grade or less ☐ High school graduate ☐ College graduate (4 years) ☐
 Some high school ☐ Some college ☐ Post graduate ☐
4. What is your age?
 16 - 20 years ☐ 25 - 34 years ☐ 50 - 64 years ☐
 21 - 24 years ☐ 35 - 49 years ☐ 65 years and over ☐
5. Are you
 White ☐ Black ☐ Spanish origin ☐ Other ☐
6. Are you (Check one)
 Single ☐ Married ☐ Divorced ☐ Widowed ☐ Separated ☐
7. Are you now
 Living alone ☐ Living with your spouse ☐
 Living with your parents ☐ Living with your children ☐
 Living with a member of the opposite sex ☐ Other ☐
8. For each category,
 a. How many children do you have? **18 and over**
 b. How many live with you? _____
9. Do you live in a
 Large city ☐ Small city ☐ Suburb ☐ Rural area ☐
10. What is your total household income category before taxes?
 Under \$12,000 ☐ \$20,000 - \$25,000 ☐ \$40,000 - \$50,000 ☐
 \$12,000 - \$15,000 ☐ \$25,000 - \$30,000 ☐ \$50,000 - \$100,000 ☐
 \$15,000 - \$20,000 ☐ \$30,000 - \$40,000 ☐ Over \$100,000 ☐
11. In the last week, how many days did you read your daily newspaper? (Circle number)
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 None
12. In the last week, how many days did you watch a television newscast? (Circle number)
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 None
13. In an average week, how many hours per day do you watch television? (Circle number)
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 None

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION.
 IF YOU HAVE ANY COMMENTS ON THE SURVEY, PLEASE WRITE THEM BELOW.

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